TEXT-BOOK
OF
MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

SARKAR & DATTA

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AND
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MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

(From 1526 to the Present Day)

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PREFACE

FROM the standpoint of the educator present-day college text-books of Indian History are not very helpful, even when they are written by scholars of repute. Amongst their defects that can be remedied without much difficulty are: (i) inadequate 'documentation' or reference to original sources or other authorities for statements made, (ii) persistence in the same old plan of 'formal' chronological presentation of matter, e.g., reign by reign, (iii) neglect of critical historical judgment, and repetition of discarded theories and notions or of the 'heresies' of history. Reform of school text-books many in India have heard of and begun, but college text-books are still in their 'Achalāyatanam.'

I have attempted in my humble way to draw up a college text-book of Indian History comparatively free from the three defects mentioned above; and in this task my previous acquaintance with the business of training History teachers for high schools as well as the present one with that of training Research scholars in History, have been of some use; for the principles and methods of college teaching and learning, though distinct from those for high schools, are yet the natural sequel and development of them.

Apart from drawing attention to the sources of each important statement in the book, arranging the facts topically wherever suitable, and introducing fresh perspectives, suggestive criticisms and judgment of evidence, the usefulness of the book has been sought to be improved by a bibliography both for junior and advanced students, and by illustrative maps selected on a somewhat fresh plan. The book will appear in two volumes and in several parts.

In comparison with the University courses of study in other histories that in Indian History is decidedly weaker in India,—a curious weakness in our system of education. The standard

of attainments in the national history at the different examinations should be very much higher than in any other branch of the subject. No modern advanced European or American country fails to emphasise this point, whereas in India the Indians know not themselves. We have kept this defective notion of standards in view in preparing this text-book for undergraduates : we leave it to the several universities of our country to judge for what class of undergraduates, junior or senior ; in our view the book indicates the junior undergraduate standard.

In the work of preparation of this book my former Research student and present colleague, Mr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., has been in every sense a full collaborator, and more than that as far as the spade-work is concerned. Another Research student of mine, Mr. J. N. Sarkar, M.A., who has also just become a colleague, and a post-graduate scholar of my department, Mr. J. C. Sinha, B.A. (Hons.), both the top men in History in their year, have helped us by looking through the typescript and the proofs, and by occasional suggestions. The index has been largely drawn up by Mr. Anant Krishna Bose, M.A., B.L., another Research student of mine and I am thankful to them for their valuable help.

I am indebted to Sir Jadunath Sarkar for his suggestions and assistance rendered by him in the preparation of Part III of this Volume.

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S. C. SARKAR

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PART I

Text-Book of Modern Indian History

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MODERN AGE IN INDIA AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE MUGHAL DOMINION

SECTION I

THE year 1498 is a landmark in world history. The discovery of the Cape route by Vasco da Gama transformed the relations between the East and the West not only commercially, but also politically and culturally,—for it brought India into contact with the renaissant Western World.

It was the spirit of the European Renaissance that led to the creation of the modern man and of his modern world. It produced a tremendous ferment in the minds of men, amidst which the medieval European political and religious systems began to dissolve. This new spirit, when carried into the field of politics, led to the birth of the modern nation-states, and brought into the field of religion, it gave birth to the Reformation movements.

Many of these characteristics of the modern age are visible about this time in India also. Here, too, we may trace a tendency towards formation of new states, some by way of a national revival against foreign domination, and some by way of break-up of the Medieval Imperial system, half military and half theocratic. Though not exactly like the nation-states of Europe, the states of Vijaynagar, Mewar and Bengal during the 14th and 15th centuries can hardly be regarded as otherwise than national. And side by side with this, we may also recognise the birth of new tendencies in religion, literature and culture, parallel to the European Reformations and counter-Reformations, and to the growth of European vernacular languages and literatures largely through those religious movements,

The teachings of Wycliffe, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and others, secured the liberation of many European countries, like England and Holland, from the overshadowing influence of the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy, and thus enabled them to play a prominent rôle in history; similarly the preachings of Madhava, Sayana and Ramanand, of Eknath, Tukaram and Ramdas, of Kabir and Nanak, or of Chaitanya, greatly freed South India, the Deccan, the Punjab and Bengal from the burden of medievalism in religion, society and thought, offered a check to the progress of Islamic conversion, and made for the rise of the new Telugu, Maratha or Sikh powers that created fresh history.

Again, just as the destruction of the medieval order in Europe and the spirit of renaissance gave new vigour and self-consciousness to the growing nation-states and thus saved Europe from being engulfed by the Moslem-Turkish advance, so also the rise of independent Hindu states and the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate into Indian Moslem states meant the turning of the tide of Moslem-Turkish advance into India, for more than two centuries at least.

In the field of religion, Islam in India had, to some extent, lost its aggressive and militant spirit by this time and several religious reformation movements had begun to bridge the gulf between the mutually repellant foreign and native cultures. With some differences in details, all these popular religious reformers preached the identity of religions, the unity of Godhead, and the brotherhood of man,—the dignity of man relative to his actions and not to his birth, the elimination of race and caste distinctions and of priestly formalities,—and they laid emphasis on simple devotion and faith as the path of salvation for all. They rose above religious fanaticism, the chief feature of medievalism, and were the true precursors of the broad-based and tolerant theistic reformations of 19th century India.

As these reformers wanted to carry their message to the masses—to both the Hindus outside the inner circle of conservative classical Brahmanism as well as to the Moslems, who either had lost touch with the traditional Hindu culture by

conversion, or to whom it was foreign and unintelligible,—they resorted to the spoken languages of the different parts of the country for their preachings and writings ; and this led to the growth and development of the modern vernacular literatures of India. Ramananda and Kabir preached in Hindi, Mirabai and others sang in Brajabhasa, Eknath helpd the development of the Marathi literature, Nanak and his followers encouraged Punjabi and Gurumukhi, and the Vaishnava reformers of Bengal and Orissa rendered valuable services to the cause of Bengali and Oriya literatures ; at the same time the non-Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the South also received a fresh impetus from these religious reformations, for the real home of the Vaishnava and Saiva revivals was in the Souh, among Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese speakers. Thus, Ramanuja, the founder of the Sri Vaishnavas, who was born near Madras and died at Srirangam in 1137, was a Telugu Brahman ; Vasava, the founder of the Lingayet Saivas, was a South Indian, preaching in the Kalachuri Kingdom, 1156—67 ; Ramananda of the 14th century was a Telugu Brahman who carried the flag of reformation from the South to the Hindi-speaking North ; so was Vallabhacharya, born 1479, who did the same thing ; even Chaitanya of South-West Bengal, born 1485, found his chief sphere of activity in the borderland of Orissa towards the South, where a new Hindu power had grown to a great height including much of South India in the 15th and 16th centuries, and had been under the influence of the Telugu empires of the Cholas and of Vijaynagar from time to time. In thus encouraging the enlightenment of the people through their vernaculars, these reformers, appealing to the masses, manifested the modern spirit in full, for the education and uplift of the *demos* has been one of the most characteristic ideas of the modern democratic age.

Though a more or less steady stream of warlike or peaceful immigration of Moslems from other parts of the Islamic world into India kept up the cleavage between the foreign ruling classes and the native ruled, yet as a result of long association and the increase of the converted Indo-Moslem community, as well as of the liberalising reform movements spread out over

several centuries, the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India had come to be considerably influenced by each other's thought and customs, and mutual toleration was taking the place of medieval uncompromising fanaticism. Both as a cause and as a result of this, intermarriages between Muhammadan and Hindu ruling families became fairly frequent: thus Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak's family intermarried with Jat noble families of the Punjab, and Turks with a strain of Indian blood were called Qarauniyahs; Rajput princesses were often taken into Moslem royal harems, like the wife and daughter of the Baghela prince, Rai Karan of Gujrat; Firuz Shah Bahmani also anticipated Akbar by marrying two Hindu ladies, one being a daughter of King Deva Raya I of Vijaynagar; Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur married the sister of a Maratha chieftain, Mukunda Rao, and her daughters were married into neighbouring Deccan royal families, the famous Chand Bibi being her descendant; converted Hindus who rose to high station also followed the Moslem rulers and nobles in casting their matrimonial net wide; thus Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, originally a Hindu of Warrangal, and subsequently Firuz Tughlak's chief minister, had a numerous harem of wives taken from various Hindu and Moslem families. The same spirit of toleration is shown by the growing Hindu practice of worshipping Muslim saints, particularly those of the mystic school, and a corresponding Muslim practice of revering Hindu saints,—leading in the case of Bengal even to the evolution under state patronage of a common worship of *Satyapir* (the True Saint); it was as a result of this friendliness in religious life that even conversions from the Muslim (and subsequently the Christian) folds into Hindu reformed religions became possible. The desire for mutual understanding was shown in Hindu (Sanskrit) religious literature being studied and translated (or summarised) into Arabic, Persian or the vernaculars, in the Muslim court circles, like those of Bengal under Husain Shah and Kashmir under Zain-ul-Abdin; the corresponding translations or adaptations of Muslim religious literature for Hindu readers and listeners appeared comparatively later, probably partly owing to the play of conservative instincts of prestige and partly owing to the absence of complexity of

thought and variety of tradition in the Muslim religious literature.[1]

Along with religious books, systems of Hindu philosophy like Yoga and Vedanta, and of science like those of Astrology and Medicine, received the attention not only of Muslim courts but also of Muslim preachers and saints. Though the presence in the country of alien ruling and military classes for several centuries necessitated the growth of a camp language, yet neither was this camp language developed readily (owing apparently to the incompatibility of Aryan vernaculars with non-Aryan Turki which was the chief language of the rulers rather than the Aryan Persian which increased in influence in India from Humayun's time), nor did this camp language, '*Urdu,*' meet all the needs of literary genius. Some find both Muslim writers writing in vernaculars on subjects of Hindu life and tradition as Jayasi did on Padmini, and Hindu writers producing works after Muslim literary tradition in the Persian language, as Rai Bhana Mal did in the line of chronicles. Further illustration of the increasing assimilation between the two cultures is to be seen in the growth of new schools of art, architecture and music, in whch the basic element remained the old Hindu, but the finish and outward form became Persian, and the purpose served was that of Muslim courts. This rapprochement in religion and literature and culture had its counterpart in the political field also, and we naturally find a large number of Hindus becoming prominent in Muslim State, and Muslims also in Hindu State services. Thus, in Malwa, Medini Rai of Chanderi and his followers obtained the highest positions ; in Bengal Husain Shah employed Hindu officials, prominent amongst whom were Purandar Khan, Rup and Sanatan ; several Hindus were employed as ministers by the Kutub Shahi Kings of Golkonda ; Yusuf Adil Shah freely

1 An instance of the manner in which medieval Muslim preachers in Bengal tried to popularise Islamic theological ideas by mixing them up with purely Hindu ideas and presenting them in easy vernacular is the MS. fragments of a work called Chota Kitab (or the Lesser Scripture, other than the major Islamic four) exhibited by us at the Indian Historical Records Commission's Session at Patna, 1930.

admitted Hindus to offices of trust, and the Marathi language came to be ordinarily used in the Bijapur administrative documents. Zain-ul-Abdin, Sultan of Kashmir, was a pro-Hindu ruler of liberal ideas, who anticipated Akbar in all his policies. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was called '*Jagadguru*' by his Muslim subjects for his patronage of Hindus in the state. On the other hand, the Hindu champion Rana Sanga of Chitor gallantly respected the independence of his defeated and captured enemy Mahmud II of Malwa; he had also a Mussalman contingent under him in his war against the invader Babar; and Hemu, a Hindu bania, rose to be the chief minister and generalissimo of Adil Shah Sur; the Vijaynagar State also employed Muslims in its army, since the time of Deva Raya II (1421—48),—a tradition later on continued by the Marathas.

Besides all these, from the year 1498 India felt the influence of the geographical discoveries of the West. The Arab domination of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, built up gradually at the cost of the native Indian over-sea trading and colonial activities (no longer supported by Indian states that were falling one by one before Muslim conquerors who had no bent for maritime enterprise) was now challenged by the nations of Western Europe, whose sailors had discovered new routes. Overpowered by this increased foreign competition, and by a flood of Mongoloid immigrations into Farther India and East Indies, the remnants of the old Indian over-sea trade and colonies perished; one of the last glimpses that we get of the passing commercial and cultural connections between native India and Insul-India is in the pages of the land and sea travels of Buddha-Gupta, the Karnata teacher of the Buddhist monk-scholar Taranatha of Tibet in the time of the rise of Akbar's empire and the height of Vijaynagar's power.[2] India was thus penetrated through the sea frontier by nations who were to play important part in the history of the country throughout the succeeding centuries. It was not only India that was thus seriously affected; but in the wake of the discovery of the Cape route "not only the Moslem world, but also the

[2] Tucci's paraphrase in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1931.

Mediterranean republics, woke up to find a new power established in India which was destroying their Eastern trade by way of the Red Sea."[3] From this time began the history of modern commerce in India, as in Europe. The influx of the European traders caused the growth of new markets for Indian raw materials and manufactures and for some time India became the supplier of the whole world in a number of commodities. It was also from this time that Portugal thought of establishing a dominion in India by employing disciplined and modernised Indian troops and by making use of Indian succession contests. "The Indian anarchy from 1500 to 1550 which preceded the firm establishment of the Mughal Empire, gave them half a century to carry out their design. The grasp of the Mughal Empire after 1550 held such schemes in abeyance during nearly two hundred years. The fall of the Mughal Empire rendered possible a revival of the old Portuguese policy, and from the struggle which ensued, England emerged the sovereign power in India."[4]

Thus under the pressure of internal and external forces medievalism was nearing its end, when the Mughals appeared as a new factor in Indian History.

The establishment of Mughal rule in India meant a fresh victory for the cause of Islam in India, while its forces had achieved notable triumphs in other parts of the world. The Ottoman Turks had taken Constantinople in 1453 and under Sulaiman the Magnificent (1520—1566) the authority of the Turkish Empire was extended over a large part of Europe, and the Turks even knocked at the gates of Vienna and Poland. In Persia Shah Ismail I (1500—1524) founded the Safavi Empire. As such the Mughal conquest of India might be regarded as an event in Islamic and world history. It did not, however, prove quite a constructive factor in Indian History, but ultimately became an agency for prolongation of

3 Hunter's *History of British India*, Vol. I, p. 113.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 170. This anarchy in Peninsular and Western India lasted not really till 1550, but right up to the consolidation of Akbar's Northern dominions in about 1580 and his Southward expansion from 1595, *i.e.*, the Portuguese had opportunities for about a century.

medievalism. It is true that up to the end of Akbar's reign the forces of modernism were all preserved and went on progressing, but from after his death they received continued checks. All the characteristics of medievalism reappeared once more. Religious persecution and fanaticism took the place of religious toleration. Court rivalries and factions appeared ; nationalism, liberalism, and economic regeneration, all lost their chances in India, and the way was being prepared for the rise of a new power in the country which, itself fully realising all the advantages of modernism, was destined finally to modernise India in another way.

SECTION II

Political Condition of India on the eve of Babar's Invasion, and the Beginnings of the Mughal Empire

There are two things without which no government can be established on a secure basis and can last long. One is the force of habit, derived from tradition and the other is the force of will derived from national support. The Turko-Afghan rule of India lacked both. Its military and feudal character was not in line with the ancient traditional government of the country though it found a parallel in the immediately preceding medieval Rajput state. As an inevitable corollary to this the medieval governments of India, Rajput or Turko-Afghan, could not secure national support: in fact the nation had gone into the background long ago, after the Hun invasions, and only the feudal military aristocracy made history. There was also no well regulated administrative machinery under the Turko-Afghan rule ; the authority of the central government, which was in the hands of the Sultan and a class of military nobility, extended hardly beyond a limited area within a striking distance of his capital or their forts. The rest of the country was either in the hands of unruly and capricious provincial governors or in the hands of Hindu nobles, who were allowed to rule their own principalities without any interference so long as they sent tribute and presents to Delhi. A tie of mutual attachment between the central government and the masses of

the people was strikingly absent. In fact, the dismemberment of the Turki Empire had already begun since the days of Muhammad bin Tughlak and it was almost complete after the blow it received at the hands of Timur. Timur's invasion was no doubt a predatory raid, but it destroyed one Empire in India and left the field open for another to rise from within or without.

At the beginning of the 16th century Ibrahim Lodi's authority did not extend beyond Delhi, Agra, the Doab, Biyana and Chanderi. The Punjab was under his relative, Daulat Khan Lodi, who resisted the authority of the Delhi ruler, and similar was the case in other parts of India. The nobles of Bihar declared their independence under Darya Khan Lohani, and in Jaunpur the Afghan nobles rebelled under the leadership of Nasir Khan Lohani of Ghazipur, Maruf Farmuli and others. Bengal, which had become independent in the time of Firoz Shah Tughlak, was at the opening of the 16th century under the sway of the Husaini dynasty. An Arab by descent, Alauddin Husain Shah (1493—1519), the first ruler of this dynasty, was a man of vigour, and he extended his kingdom as far as the borders of Orissa and invaded Kamatpur in Koch Bihar (on Assam border). He "enjoyed a peaceable and happy reign, beloved by his subjects and respected by his neighbours." He gave shelter to Husain Shah, the last Sharki King of Jaunpur, driven out by the Lodis of Delhi. His son and successor Nusrat Shah occupied Tirhut and made peace with Babar. He patronised art, architecture and Bengali literautre ; a Bengali version of the Mahabharata was prepared under his orders.

The kingdom of Malwa became independent under Dilwar Khan Ghori (descended from Muhammad Ghori) who was a feudal chieftain under Sultan Firoz Tughlak. But in 1435 the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was supplanted by the Turki Khilji dynasty (a branch of the royal Khiljis) under Mahmud Khan, the minister of the Ghori chieftain who ascended the throne with the title of Mahmud Khilji. "Sultan Mahmud," says Ferishta, "was polite, brave, just and learned and during his reign his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were

happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of earth read." The next Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din was poisoned by his son Nasir-ud-din. The parricide Sultan highly abused his power till he died in 1512. Under his son and successor Mahmud II the kingdom became weak and the government fell under the control of Medini Rai, a gallant Rajput chief. The Hindus were appointed to the important positions of trust and responsibility, which excited the jealousy of the Muslim nobles, and the latter tried to overthrow the influence of the Rajput chief with the help of their coreligionists from Gujrat. But Medini Rai, who secured the support of Rana Sanga of Chitor, defeated the Muslim army, and the Sultan fell into the hands of the Rajputs. But Rana Sanga treated him with chivalrous courtesy and restored him to his kingdom. The kingdom of Malwa was not however destined to remain independent for a long time: in 1531 it was conquered by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat.

The kingdom of Gujrat secured its independence (1396) under Zafar Khan, the son of a Rajput convert, who ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar Shah. Mahmud Begarha (1458—1511) was the most notable ruler of this dynasty. He took possession of the fortress of Champaner to the north-east of Baroda and of Junagadh in Kathiawar and overran Cutch. He was jealous of the rising sea power of the Portuguese and tried to break it by allying himself with the Sultan of Turkey. He was the first and one of the very few Indian rulers who saw the importance of the Portuguese (European) maritime expansion in the Indian waters. He was at first successful against the Portuguese and inflicted a severe defeat on them near Chaul, to the south of Bombay in 1508. But the Portuguese quickly recovered their naval supremacy and the allied Turkish and Gujrat fleet was defeated next year near Diu. Mahmud then came to terms with the Portuguese and they were allowed to build a factory at Diu. Thus the ruler of an independent local kingdom failed to prevent the intrusion of a body of foreign

traders. The footing they thus gained in the rich west coast of India could not be disturbed even by Akbar. Mahmud was "mild and just to his own servants" and "whether for abounding justice and generosity ; for success in religious wars and for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmans ; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age ; for power, for valour and victory"—"he was a pattern of excellence." But unlike the contemporary Sultans of Bengal, he was a bigot and was intolerant towards his Hindu subjects. Muzaffar Shah II who succeeded Mahmud in 1511 A.D. was busy throughout his reign in fighting against his enemies and was defeated by Rana Sanga of Mewar. After his death in 1525 Bahadur Shah ascended the throne towards the close of 1526.

The kingdom of Khandesh which had become independent in 1388 was at the time of Babar's invasion under the rule of Miran Muhammad. Situated at a great distance from Delhi, the desert province of Sindh did not exercise much influence on the politics of Northern India. Just on the eve of Babar's invasion of Hindusthan, Sindh was in a distracted state owing to the struggles between the Samma dynasty and the Arghun dynasty for supremacy in that region. The Samma dynasty had established itself there towards the middle of the 14th century. But Shah Beg Arghun, Governor of Kandahar, who was compelled to surrender it to Babar about 1516 A.D. turned towards Sindh as another sphere of activity and established an Arghun principality there. His son Shah Husain annexed Multan and increased the power of the dynasty. Kashmir also was at that time under an independent Muhammadan dynasty, founded early in the 14th century by a Muslim minister of the Hindu rulers ; Zain-ul-Abdin, the prototype of Akbar, had ruled there fifty years before this.

In the south, the Bahmani Kingdom had by that time spent up all its forces in conflicts with the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar and after the cruel execution of the famous minister Mahmud Gawan in 1481, five independent principalities, *viz.*, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda, Berar and Bidar had sprung out of it. Berar seceded first, where Fathullah Imad Shah, a

convert Hindu, founded the Imad Shahi dynasty. Yusuf Adil Shah, a Georgian slave of Mahmud Gawan, reputed to be a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey, founded the Adil Shahi dynasty at Bijapur of which he was governor, and declared his independence in 1489-90. In the same year Malik Ahmad, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri (who had brought about the end of Mahmud Gawan and who was descended from the hereditary Hindu revenue officials of Pathri) defeated Mahmud Bahmani and founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. Quli Qutb Shah, a Turki officer under Mahmud Gawan, made Golkunda independent between 1512 and 1518. This new kindgom was a revival of the old Hindu Kakatiya Kingdom of Warrangal conquered by Bahmanis in 1423. The diminished Bahmani Kingdom survived in name with the residue of its possessions till 1526, but the rulers were helpless puppets in the hands of Qasim Barid and his son Amir Aliya ; the latter formally dispensed with the rule of the Bahmani Sultans in 1526 and founded the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar (which lasted till the final annexation of Bidar by Bijapur in 1609). These independent offshoots of the Bahmani Sultanate, together with Vijaynagar, introduced another period of internal warfare in the Peninsula, like that between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas in the Middle Ages, or between Mysore, Marathas and Nizam in the 18th century. There was no united policy, no action with a common aim or under common principle. In fact, the break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom greatly weakened the Muslim cause in the Peninsula, where the Vijaynagar Empire remained in full power and glory.

It was Vijaynagar which held the key to the political situation of the time. Founded in the middle of the 14th century (1336) this Empire soon extended in the mainland of India up to Cuttack in the east, Salsette in the west, and reached the exreme border of the Peninsula in the south, while its sphere of influence included many islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean.[4a] Its growth was the political manifestation of

[4a] *Journal of Indian History*, 1927, p. 7 ; *vide* also articles in *Indian Antiquary*, 1932 and 1933.

the spirit of Hindu Renaissance. According to a current tradition[5] Harihar and Bukka, the founders of the city and kingdom of Vijaynagar, had been inspired in their careers by the famous Brahman sage and scholar of the day, Madhava Vidyaranya, and most probably his brother Sayana, the famous commentator of the Vedas, also contributed largely to this spirit of revival. The Vijaynagar Empire checked the growth of Muslim power not only in the south but by keeping the attention and energies of the Bahmani Sultanate and its offshoots constantly engaged indirectly prevented its extension in the north as well. But for the mighty Vijaynagar Empire, the Muslim rulers of the south might have extended their activities in the north and could have established there a strong Muslim power by bringing the contemporary insignificant independent Muhammadan principalities under their control.

In 1486 or 1487 Narasingha Saluva, the powerful governor of Chandragiri, displaced the Sangama dynasty and usurped the throne of Vijaynagar. But the rule of his family lasted only till 1505, when his son Immadi Narasingha was killed by his general Narasa Nayaka, a Tuluva, who established the third or the Tuluva dynasty. This dynasty produced a ruler of

5 Sewell (*A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 20—22) mentions seven traditionary accounts about the origin of the Vijaynagar Empire and opines (p. 23) that " perhaps the most reasonable account would be one culled from the general drift of the Hindu legends combined with the certainties of historical fact " and from this point of view he places more reliance on the tradition according to which Harihar and Bukka, sons of one Sangama, founded the city and kingdom of Vijaynagar. According to Father Heras, a very modern writer on the subject, this tradition was of later origin and became current in the 16th century. In his opinion the Hoysala, King Vira Ballala III founded the city which later formed the nucleus of the Vijaynagar Empire. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his work *Kampili and Vijaynagar*, a very recent publication, rejects the theory of the Hoysala school of writers and points out that Vira Ballala III could not have founded Vijaynagar as he had been engaged in a terrible and devastating war with the Raja of Anegondi and the Sultan of Delhi on the one hand and the Sultan of Madura on the other, between 1328 A.D. and 1346 A.D., the period during which the city was founded. He says that Harihar threw off the yoke of Delhi in 1346 A.D. and founded the city of Vijaynagar in the period of unrest following the death of Muhammad bin Tughlak.

considerable merit and ability named Krishna Deva Raya, whose reign lasted from 1509 to 1529. He was one of the most famous kings in the history of India in those times. Under him the Empire of Vijaynagar rose to the highest pitch of glory. A great warrior, a benevolent king, and a patron of learning, Krishna Deva Raya was not unmindful of the territorial expansion of the Empire. He reduced the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore District, and in 1520 he recovered the fortress of Raichur from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose capital was temporarily occupied by his army. He reduced the fortress of Kulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bahmanis, and in the campaigns between 1509 and 1519 defeated and subordinated Prataparudra, the Hindu (Vaishnava) Raja of Orissa, and annexed the East coast up to Vizagapatam. He granted concessions to the Portuguese traders. In 1510 the Portuguese Governor Albuquerque sought his permission for building a fort at Bhatkal, which was granted when they seized Goa. Paes, the Portuguese chronicler, who visited India about 1522 A.D., testifies to his qualities in the following terms: "He is the most learned and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage He is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things." "He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishnavism Krishna Ray's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the

welfare of his people; and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmans, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs, who sheds a lustre on the pages of history."[6] Thus when the old Pathan Empire had split up into parts, the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar was in the sunshine of prosperity and glory. The Portuguese regarded the capital of Vijaynagar as " the best provided city in the world."

This spirit of revival and the attempt to found a Hindu dominion on the ruins of the Delhi Sultanate was also present at this time among some of the Rajput states, the most notable of which was the Guhilot principality of Mewar. In 1508 Rana Sangram, grandson of Rana Kumbha (whose wife was the famous Vaishnava saint Mirabai), carried forward the work of building up a Rajput power begun by Hammira and Laksha, and fairly accomplished by Kumbha (1433—68). He was a man of great military powers and was a terror to the Muslim states. Devoted to military activities all through his life, his body bore the signs of eighty wounds in addition to an eye blinded and a leg crippled. He fought successfully against Gujrat and repulsed an invasion of Mewar by Ibrahim Lodi. It has been already noted how he helped Medini Rai of Chanderi against Mahmud II of Malwa, who was taken as a captive to Chitor but was released after three months. The economic resources and the military forces of Mewar were thoroughly organised, and it was clear that any other power aiming at supremacy in Hindusthan would have to contest it with him. He welcomed the prospect of destruction of the remnant of the Delhi Sultanate by Babar's invasion even as it had been broken up by his ancestor's raid, and hoped that like Timur, Babar would leave India to work out its own fate and thus give him his chance. The Hindu Kingdom of Orissa was also under powerful rulers.

There were also some other principalities where the Hindus maintained their independence. Babar writes in his

[6] *Annual Report of the Archeological Survey of India for 1908-1909*, p. 126.

Memoirs[7] " The most powerful of the pagan (Hindu) princes in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijnager (Vijaynagar). Another is the Rana Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword There are a number of other *Rais* and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindusthan, many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Mussalman Kings." Thus on the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate, there was a revival among the Hindu states, and these came forward with a bid for supremacy in the south as well as in the north. It should also be noted that all of the Muslim states of India at that time were not ruled by foreigners ; the independent rulers of Gujrat, Ahmadnagar and Berar were of Indian origin. So even if a Muslim power in India itself could rise now to successfully check the growth of Hindu ascendancy, that would only have led to the establishment of an imperial rule from within India. But Babar's invasions and exploits destroyed the chances of a native Indian government, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. It opened the way for another foreign (Central Asiatic) Turkish rule, which at a critical period was backed up by another foreign power, Persia, and was finally consolidated by Akbar who adapted himself to the times and the situation, and wisely and cautiously acted up to the modernistic forces, which had already appeared in the history of India. But subsequently the return of the medieval features like religious intolerance, pseudo-chivalry, etc., especially in the time of the great orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb, sapped the foundation of this rule and prepared the ground for the political enterprises of the modern Western European nations, out of which the English at length came out victorious to wield the political destiny of India.

Babar was a Chaghtai Turk and a direct descendant of Timur who had invaded India and ravaged its capital city in 1398 while through his mother he was connected with the great Mongol (Mughal) conqueror Chingiz Khan (1226). Born

[7] Leyden and Erskine, p. 312.

in 1483 he inherited from his father (d. 1494) the small principality of Farghana (one of the fragments of what once was Timur's empire) when he was only eleven years old. His early life was not that of a prince brought up in a bed of roses ; a varied training in the school of adversity enabled him afterwards to steer through the vicissitudes of fortune and to make courageous efforts for bettering his lot. He formed the plan of re-establishing himself on the throne of Timur and took possession of Samarkhand in 1497. But the rivalry of his kinsmen and near relatives in Farghana and the jealousy of Shaibani Khan, a chief of a rival Turki tribe, the Uzbegs, compelled him to give up his cherished object. In his second invasion of Samarkhand he was defeated by the Uzbeg Chief at the battle of Archain in June 1503, and was compelled to live the life of a homeless wanderer for about a year, his own patrimony of Farghana being also lost to him. For some time the rising power of the Uzbegs kept the Timurids off from their principalities, but a rebellion in another part of Shaibani's dominions gave the opportunity to Babar for occupying Kabul in 1504. He now secured the help of Ismail, the founder of the Safavi dynasty in Persia, who had crushed the Uzbeg Shaibani Khan, and then invaded Samarkhand in October 1511. But he was finally defeated by the Uzbegs under Shaibani's son in 1512. Being thus unsuccessful in all his attempts in the North-West, he thought of realising his ambitions in the South-East. But he had to wait for twelve years before he could find a proper opportunity for realising his scheme.

He was not, however, sitting idle during this period but led several raids into Indian territory. Thus in 1519 he besieged and took Bajaur in the frontier with great slaughter of the Hindu defenders and then crossing the Indus claimed the Punjab as his inheritance from Timur. In 1520 he turned again towards Central Asia and conquered Badakhshan and placed it in charge of his son Humayun. Two years later advancing in the direction of the Indian plains he took Kandahar from the Arghuns (who were thus pushed into Sindh). But the real opportunity came when he was invited

like Muhammad Ghori from within India. The Delhi Sultanate for a century and a quarter existed only in name ; the temporary revival under the Lodis (after 1450) was marred by the mutual jealousies and feuds of the Lodi nobles and by the severe persecution of the Hindus by Sikandar Lodi (1489—1517), who ruined the sacred city of Mathura and tried to check the Reformation movements ; the discontent of the subject population must have been heightened by the increasing scarcity of metallic currency in the country since Timur's invasion, which produced lower and lower prices in this time, and thus made the producers of the country poorer ; the weak but vindictive rule of Ibrahim Lodi had further generated a feeling of discontent among the Afghan nobles. His cruel treatment of Dilwar Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, the most powerful noble of the Punjab, brought this discontent to a head. Daulat Khan and Alam Khan, an uncle of Sultan Ibrahim and a pretender to the throne of Delhi, sent an invitation to Babar to invade Hindusthan. In this way, revenge and ambition, persecutions and disaffection, worked out the destiny of the decadent Delhi Empire and sowed the seeds of a fresh Turkish rule in India for another two centuries.

Babar, who was a man of adventurous and daring spirit at once responded to the call which presented him an excellent opportunity for giving effect to his long-cherished ambition. He occupied Lahore in 1524 ; but such occupation was not what his host Daulat Khan desired ; he had hoped that Babar would retire after a raid, leaving the field clear for him ; so he now began to harbour hostile designs in his mind against Babar. Though faithful for a time, Alam Khan also soon broke his engagements with Babar and joined hands with Daulat Khan. Babar therefore had to retire to Kabul, where he began to plan for another invasion of Hindusthan.

Determined to strike once more[8] he issued forth from

8 He writes in his *Memoirs*: "Having placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution and my hand on the reins of confidence in God, I marched against Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar, son of Bahlol Lodi the Afghan, in whose possession the throne of Delhi and the dominions of Hindusthan at that time were."

Kabul in November 1525, and soon reoccupied the Punjab. Daulat Khan Lodi surrendered in abject submission and was pardoned. The conquest of Delhi was, however, a more difficult task ; but the spirit which sustained Babar, the boy-ruler of Farghana, as he captured, lost and recaptured throne after throne, and advanced up to the Punjab, did not fail him in the face of this difficulty. Babar mentions in his *Memoirs* that Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar had at that time promised to help him.

Babar then advanced from the Punjab and in two marches reached Panipat. Here, with an army of 12,000 men, he met the forces of Ibrahim, which were immensely superior in numbers (100,000 according to Babar's estimate) on April 21, 1526. But Ibrahim's numbers could not stand before Babar's clever combination of cavalry and artillery.[8a] Ibrahim's soldiers were mostly mercenaries and the Sultan himself, as Babar writes, " was a young inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight." Babar won the day and Sultan Ibrahim lay dead on the field of battle with the flower of his army after a desperate resistance. Babar writes : " By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust." The victory at Panipat was quickly followed by Babar's occupation of Delhi and Agra. He distributed the treasure that fell into his hands among his relatives and friends. To " every soul, man or woman, slave or free, of age or not " living at Kabul he gave a silver coin as a token of Royal favour. He removed the unwillingness of his mountaineer soldiers to stay on in the

8a Gunpowder and arillery were in use in Indian states from the middle of the 15th century, if not earlier (e.g., in Jaunpur about 1450); native Assamese accounts claim for Assam the first use of gunpowder in India. This is also noted by Abbe Raynal in his work named '*A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the European in the East and West Indies (1780)*. Vol. I, p. 316. This change in armaments is another modernistic feature in 15th and 16th cenury Indian history.

hot climate of India by an earnest appeal and then subdued the Afghan chiefs in the Doab and elsewhere.

But before he could found an empire in India Babar had to meet a more formidable foe. A collision was inevitable between the already revived Hindu power and the invasion of a foreigner adventurer trying to impose his yoke on India. The expansion of Vijaynagar, now at its height, was no doubt checked by the barrier of the five new Sultanates of the Deccan ; but there was the rising power of Mewar closer to the scene of action. Rana Sangram Singh, the greatest Hindu warrior of the age, came forward to challenge the onward progress of Babar. It has been suggested by Erskine,[9] apparently on the basis of a statement in Babar's *Memoirs*, that while at Kabul he had received a promise from the Rana that if he attacked Sultan Ibrahim from the Delhi side, the Rana would attack the Sultan from the Agra side, and that the conflict between them was due to both of them accusing each other of a breach of promise. But the cause of their conflict was clearly something more fundamental : the old native India was reasserting itself, striving for a national kingdom, while the Delhi Sultanate lay practically dismembered, flouted by contending Afghan nobles.

Rana Sangram Singh marched up to Biana and was joined by Hasan Khan Mewati, one of whose sons had been captured by Babar at Panipat but had been released afterwards, and by several other Muslim supporters of the Lodi dynasty. Babar knew it well that it was not a very easy task to encounter the Rajputs, who being " energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour." Rana Sangram Singh had under him 120 chiefs, 80,000 horse and 500 war elephants. The rulers of Marwar, Amber, Gwalior, Ajmer and Chanderi, and Sultan Mahmud Lodi, another son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, whom

9 Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 462.

the Rana had acknowledged as the King of Delhi, had flocked to his standard.

The reports of Rajput chivalry and martial spirit struck Babar's troops with panic, and just at that time the ominous predictions of an astrologer from Kabul further disheartened them. But Babar was indomitable, and he at once took measures to instil fresh courage and enthusiasm into their hearts. He broke his drinking cups, poured out his stores of liquor on the ground and vowed never again to touch strong drink, and summoning his officers together he addressed them thus :

" Noblemen and soldiers ! Every man that comes into the world is subject to dissolution. When we are passed away and gone, God only survives unchangeable. Whoever comes to the feast of life must, before it is over, drink from the cup of death ! He who arrives at the inn of mortality must one day inevitably take his departure from that house of sorrow—the world. How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy !

With fame, even I die, I am contented ;
Let fame be mine, since my body is death's.

The Most High God has been propitious to us, and has now placed us in such a crisis, that if we fall in the field, we die the death of martyr ; if we survive we rise victorious, the avengers of the cause of God. Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, that none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

This appeal of Babar had its desired effect. All his officers swore by the Holy Qoran to stand firm in the contest. The decisive battle was fought at Kanwah, a village due west from Agra, on the 16th March, 1527. The use of similar tactics as at Panipat brought victory to Babar, though the Rajputs fought desperately. The slaughter was great, but the Rana escaped through the help of his followers and died broken-hearted after about two years.

The battle of Kanwah supplemented Babar's work at Panipat and it was certainly more decisive in its results. At Kanwah there was a trial of strength between a foreign invader and a revived national power. The latter succumbed making it easier for the former to found a fresh alien dynasty and rule. The Rajput confederacy once again received a great shock from its defeat at the hands of another Muslim invader. But Prof. Rushbrook-Williams' statement that Rajputs "ceased henceforth to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindusthan"[10] can be accepted only with a considerable amount of limitation. A study of the history of Mughal India as a whole would show that after Kanwah, the Rajputs retire only for the time being from the field of politics; they reappear once again after thirty years and make their influence felt for close upon two centuries. Nor is the tide of Hindu revival completely checked for those thirty years,—since Sher Shah had to struggle with the Rajput states, and his descendants fell into the power of Hemu who assumed the title of Vikramaditya. This much however is certain that Babar's task now became easier and Rushbrook-Williams rightly remarks that before the battle of Kanwah "the occupation of Hindusthan might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Babar's career of adventure; but from henceforth it becomes the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away; the fortune is his and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is and fighting in plenty to be done; but it is fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne. And it is also significant of Babar's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindusthan." Babar's conception of kingship also now underwent a trans-

[10] *Empire-builders of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 156-57.

formation. He gave up the title of ' Sultan ' and assumed the Persian one of ' Padshah ' (Emperor, originally ' Regent ', —' Patikshayathiya '), possibly under Safavi influence, and thus showed that his idea was to establish something better than the mere despotic military rule known so long at Delhi. He wanted to be an efficient ruler by removing all the elements of disorder from the country.

Following up the success at Kanwah, Babar next stormed and captured the fortress of Chanderi, not long ago the stronghold of the famous Rajput chief Medini Rai, in spite of the gallant defence and bravery of the Rajputs.[11] In the meanwhile the Afghans of Bihar had declared for Mahmud Lodi. brother of Ibrahim, after the failure of his Rajput supporters. Babar sent his son Askari to suppress the Afghan rising and himself proceeded a little later. On his approach most of the Afghan chiefs made their submission and Mahmud found refuge with Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal, just as fifty years ago Husain Shah of Jaunpur found refuge with his name-sake, the predecessor of Nusrat Shah, when he was ousted by the Lodis. Babar thereupon proceeded further and defeated the Afghans in the battle of the Gogra, near the junction of that river with the Ganges above Patna. " Good generalship had once more guided valour to victory. The result was the collapse of the Afghan rebellion, and the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Bengal. In three battles he had reduced Northern India to submission " and became the ruler of a territory extending from the Oxus to the Gogra and from the Himalayas to Gwalior, though considerable gaps here and there had yet to be filled in.

But he was not destined to enjoy his hard-won empire for long. He passed away prematurely on 26th December, 1530, at the age of forty-seven. From the well-known anecdote about his taking over his son's illness upon himself, it would appear that his death was as romantic as his whole life. As the Muhammadan historians tell us, Humayun began to recover after this mysterious transfer while Babar's health

11 Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 483.

declined more and more till he succumbed to a sudden disorder of bowels. His body was at first laid at Rambagh or Arambagh in Agra but afterwards it was taken to Kabul and was buried in a garden which he loved very much.[12]

Babar had won an extensive empire by his own military prowess, unbending energy, and indomitable spirit. "But there was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast empire. Hardly any law could be regarded as universal but that of the unrestrained power of the prince. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village was governed, in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs There were no regular courts of law spread over the kingdom for the administration of justice . . . All differences relating to land, where they were not settled by the village officers, were decided by the district authorities, the collectors, the zemindars or jagirdars. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil, but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint."[13] After conquest, Babar had hardly any sufficient time to introduce new laws or to establish a well-organised administration. He accepted the existing decayed system and divided the country into fiefs which he distributed among the jagirdars dependent upon himself. The medieval feudal system and its evils could not yet be eradicated, and India was still as Erskine observes, "rather a congeries of little states under one prince than one regular and uniformly governed kingdom. Many of the hill and frontier districts yielded little more than a nominal submission."[14] The unsettled state of the country and Babar's lavish expenditure in offering gifts and presents to his followers and in

12 He had a special fondness for Kabul about which he himself said: 'The climate is extremely delightful, and there is no such place in the known world. Drink wine in the citadel of Kabul and send round the cup without stopping it, for it is at once mountain and stream, town and desert.'

13 Erskine, Vol. I, p. 528.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 530.

remitting certain duties for the Muslims affected the financial stability of his empire. Thus, as Prof. Rushbrook-Williams has rightly remarked, Babar "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless, and invertebrate."[15]

Babar is one of the most interesting and important figures in Asiatic History. He was not a bloodthirsty conqueror carrying death and devastation before him. With higher qualities of head and heart, he was a loving father, a considerate master and a generous friend. As Mr. Lane-Poole observes: "He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamarlane and Akbar. The blood of the two great scourges of Asia, Chingiz and Timur, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the listless Hindu; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar achieved. His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line, but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful memoirs in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babar was not the less a man of fine literary taste, and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turki he was master of a pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse." His memoirs which occupy a high place in the history of world's literature, were translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in the itme of Akbar in 1590. These were translated into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826

15 *Empire-Builders of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 162.

and into French in 1871. Mrs. Beveridge has also published a revised edition.

He was a passionate lover of nature. The hills, the streams and the meadows of his native land were objects of his love, and the springs, lakes, plants and fruits had all a special charm for him. Though addicted to drinking, he was not a dead drunkard who sacrificed duty for his drink. At the call of duty before the battle of Kanwah, he finally gave up drinking. He had a firm faith in God and was himself a lover of truth. He thus assures the readers of his *Memoirs*: "I do not write this in order to make a complaint: I have written the plain truth. I do not set down these matters in order to make known my deserts; I have set down exactly what happened. In this history I have held firmly to it that the truth should be reached in any matter, and that every act should be recorded precisely as it occurred." Thus Babar occupies an important place in history, as an early appreciator of the true spirit of history.

SECTION III

HUMAYUN AND HIS EARLY WARS

Three days after the death of Babar, Humayun ascended the throne of his father in December, 1530, when he was twenty-three years old. But it was not an easy throne which he inherited and his situation was not free from danger and difficulty. Among the Muslims the law of primogeniture was not rigidly followed in practice, and the younger princes to whom were assigned large governments or appanages tried to assert their claims to the throne by force. As Mr. Erskine remarks, "The sword was the grand arbiter of right; and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers."[16] Humayun could not rely on the army, which was not a national one connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghtai, Uzbeg,

[16] *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 2.

Mughal, Persian, Afghan and Indian. There were also many Khans or nobles at the court, who were engaged in machinations for the possession of a fellow-adventurer's throne, and whose intrigues might render the position of Babar's heir precarious at any moment. Thus the camp and the court were both unreliable.

Moreover, as we have already seen, Babar could not leave behind him a well-organised and consolidated empire, with the different elements in the state under control. In fact, he had not been able to conquer the whole of Hindusthan in the proper sense of the term. " He had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler ; he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race, yet had upon the people of India was military force."[17] The Rajputs had only been temporarily cowed ; many Afghan nobles, who held fiefs in the different parts, had not forgotten about Afghan rule, which had been supplanted only a few years back. They had not joined their sincere attachment to the rule of the new dynasty. " Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt, and ready on the first signal to fly to arms in what was a personal as well as a national cause. They had also the advantage of possessing " a rallying point " in Sultan Mahmud Lodi, brother of Sultan Ibrahim, whose cause was (after Sangram Singh's failure) supported by the leading Afghan nobles. One Sher Khan had already taken up arms in Bengal and Bihar towards the close of Babar's reign and was trying to organise the Afghans into a native ruling power. The authority of the Mughals was also menaced in the south-west by the growing power of Gujrat under Bahadur Shah. To add to this Humayun's brothers were looking forward to a dismemberment of the empire on their father's death, and this was sure to weaken the military resources of Humayun by depriving him of some of the best recruiting areas.

Such a situation required a ruler of great tact and ability. But though accomplished in certain respects and possessed of

17 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

intellectual interests, Humayun lacked the tact and discretion of his father as well as his resolution and perseverance. As Mr. Lane-Poole writes: "He was incapable of sustained effort, and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means fortunate and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled."

The first act of indiscretion committed by Humayun was that he tried heedlessly to satisfy his brothers instead of bringing them under control. To Askari he gave the province of Sambhal, to Hindal that of Alwar; and Kamran, the eldest of the three, was confirmed in the kingdoms of Kabul and Kandahar. But so insincere was the brotherly attachment, that far from being satisfied with this, Kamran soon proceeded at the head of a large army towards Hindusthan under the pretence of congratulating his brother on his accession. He crossed the Indus and brought the whole of the Punjab under his sway. Humayun could not offer any opposition but after some delay issued a *firman* formally conferring on Kamran the government of Kabul, Kandahar and the Punjab. He also ceded to him the district of Hissar Firoza to the east of the Punjab proper. Thus the integrity of Babar's empire was imperilled by its division between Humayun and Kamran. Moreover, the new Mughal rule in India was dependent for its strength on the army and recruits from the Indus region and beyond, and the possession of these parts by Kamran meant that Humayun was cut off from his chief recruiting ground. Besides, the acquisition of Hissar Firoza gave Kamran the command of the high road between the Punjab and Delhi.

Humayun's early military operations were, however, marked with success. Five or six months after his accession he

proceeded to besiege the fort of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, whose Raja was " probably in the interest of the Afghans." But owing to an uprising of the Afghans in the east he retreated after realising a large sum from the Raja and marched towards Bihar.

The Afghan menace engaged Humayun's attention for the time being.[18] He defeated them in a battle at Dourah and expelled Sultan Mahmud from Jaunpur, when the latter fled to Patna and to Bengal, where he died a natural death. He laid siege to the fortress of Chunar, then held by Sher Khan, but instead of completely crushing that rising Afghan chief, he accepted " a purely perfunctory submission," thus allowing him to strengthen his own position while he himself was called away to the other extreme of his empire for checking the pretensions of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujrat.

Bahadur Shah had given various provocations to Humayun. He had extended his territories at the expense of the Rajputs of Mewar who had then fallen from power, guided by the weak hands of their impolitic prince Bikramjit (Vikramaditya). After conquering Malwa from them, Bahadur Shah had advanced up to Chitor. Many of the Afghan refugees and enemies of Humayun had found shelter at Ahmedabad and Bahadur financed their enterprises. He openly refused to deliver up Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Humayun or even to expel him from his dominions. Humayun thereupon proceeded against Bahadur, and arrived in Malwa towards the end of 1534, when he found Bahadur engaged in the siege of the fortress of Chitor. Rani Karnavati of Mewar sought Humayun's help but could not get it.[18a] Instead of attacking Bahadur at once or trying to win the inestimable friendship of the Rajput chiefs by joining them he waited and allowed Bahadur to crush the Hindu infidels. Thus he lost an important opportunity of inflicting a decisive blow upon his enemy Bahadur and at the same time of winning over the Rajputs to his side as supports of his new empire. His chivalry towards a Muslim foe might be praised, but his policy was wrong. The

[18] Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 10—12; *Akbarnamah, Elliot,* Vol. VI, p. 10.

[18a] *Indian Historical Quarterly,* June 1932.

ultimate storming of Chitor by Bahadur with the help and advice of the Turkish engineer "Rumi" Khan (of Constantinople) and Portuguese and other European artillery men, left Bahadur free to meet Humayun. But he was opposed by the forces of Humayun on the banks of a large artificial lake near Mandasor.[19] Bahadur was defeated and was pursued from Mandu to Champaner, and Ahmedabad, and thence to Cambay till he found refuge in the island of Diu.[20]

But a reaction soon followed in the Mughal camp. Flushed with their victory, Humayun, his brother Askari and his followers gave themselves up to feasts and revelry. "His affairs fell into confusion ; the government of the provinces was neglected ; and even his own camp became a scene of uproar and insubordination." This encouraged Bahadur to try for recovering his position and he was welcomed almost everywhere.[21] Askari was too weak to retain Gujrat and internal dissensions soon broke out among the Mughals, which enabled the old ruler to recover his overrun territories. In the meanwhile the Afghan menace had appeared once again in the East in a more real form under Sher Khan, and Humayun had to turn his attention towards that quarter. No sooner had he begun his return march than Malwa also was lost to the Mughals. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces ; the next saw them as quickly lost." Thus, through his own indecision and folly, Humayun failed to establish his authority in the West, when he was called upon to meet the organised strength of the Afghans.

19 Erskine, Vol. II, p. 49.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 54—60.

21 Bahadur was not destined to live long. In a scuffle between his own men and the Portuguese, Bahadur, who suspected treachery, jumped into the sea and was drowned in 1537. (Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 18.)

CHAPTER II

THE AFGHAN REVIVAL: SHER SHAH AND THE SURS

THE victory of Panipat had made Babar the master of Delhi, but the Afghan nobles were seething in discontent against the new Mughal rule. We have already seen how they had been roving hither and thither in quest of help and looking for an opportunity to strike a blow against the Mughals. But the situation needed something more than spasmodic and isolated efforts. It was necessary that the Afghans should be moved by a common ideal, should carry on the contest under a common organisation and should act under the leadership of a man of parts, if they wanted to revive their rule. It was Sher Shah who worked out this Afghan or rather Indo-Moslem national revival, and effected a temporary but glorious restoration of native Muhammadan rule in India.

Sher's original name was Farid. He was the son of Hasan and grandson of Ibrahim, an Afghan of the tribe of Sur, who lived near Peshawar. Ibrahim came further east in search of military service during the latter part of Sultan Bahlol Lodi's reign (1451—1488). He found an employment with Jamal Khan Sarangkhani in Hissar Firoza in the Delhi District and it was in the city of Hissar that Farid was born. He was taken to Sahsaram by his father who had migrated there on his master's receiving the governorship of Jaunpur. Farid had to spend his early years in the midst of his father's indifference and his stepmother's intolerance. But this proved to be a blessing in disguise for him, as it forced upon him a life of struggle and adventure, which equipped him with a good training for future activities. Arriving at the age of discretion, he left his father's home and went to Jaunpur where by good industry and steady application he soon acquired an uncommon familiarity with the Persian and Arabic languages and literatures. He could reproduce from memory the *Gulistan*, *Bustan* and *Sikandar-*

namah.[1] This promising young man, with his keen intelligence and talents, soon attracted everybody's favour at Jaunpur. Jamal Khan, his father's patron, effected a reconciliation between the father and the son. Farid returned to Sahsaram and was entrusted with full powers for administering the *parganas* of Sahsaram and Khawaspur, places dependent on Rohtas in Behar. His firm and wise administration of these *parganas* soon excited his stepmother's jealousy, who contrived his second expulsion from his father's *jagirs*. Thus after "serving his period of apprenticeship for administering the Empire of Hindusthan," Farid now took refuge in Agra.

After his father's death, he took possession of his father's *jagirs* on the strength of a royal *firman*, which he had procured at Agra. But the intrigues of his father's enemies, combined with the machinations of his stepmother, placed various difficulties in his way. In 1522 he entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, who had made himself the independent ruler of Bihar. By dint of his diligence and faithful service, he soon became a favourite of Bahar Khan and received from him the title of Sher Khan, for his gallantry in killing a tiger single-handed. He was soon nominated the deputy (*Vakil*) of his master and was appointed tutor (*Ataliq*) of his minor son, Jalal Khan.

Sher now returned to his father's *jagirs*, but was deprived of these again, owing to the machinations of his intriguing kinsmen, who alienated his master Bahar Khan (Sultan Muhammad, as he was called after the first battle of Panipat) from him. "Impressed by the complete success of Mughal arms and the prospect of princely fortune there, he thought of entering the Mughal service and making himself a leader of independent means equal in status with any other Afghan chief,"[2] he joined Babar's camp (as Chandragupta did Alexander's) and remained there for about fifteen months (April 1527 to June 1528); in return for the help he rendered Babar in his eastern campaigns, the latter restored him to his paternal *parganas*.

1 Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, p. 6.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Sher soon left the service of the Mughals and again became the deputy of Jalal Khan, the son of his earlier master Bahar Khan. As a guardian of this minor king, he ruled Bihar in his name, while the actual control of the government passed into his hands. " Sher Khan during a space of four years elevated himself to a state of complete independence and gained the attachment of the greater part of the army by the bounties and honours lavished upon them, so much so that within the frontiers of Bihar no one dared disobey his orders."[3] The fortress of Chunar now luckily came into his possession. Tej Khan, the Lord of Chunar, was killed by his eldest son who resented his father's dotage on a younger wife, Lad Malika ; this widowed lady, however, married Sher Khan and delivered the fortress of Chunar into his hands, together with vast wealth.[4] Sher Khan remained neutral in the Afghan rising of 1531 against Humayun.[5] The latter, however, besieged the fortress of Chunar when Sher saved himself by submission.[6] As the power of the old Afghan nobles declined, Sher Khan became in fact the dictator in the Bihar government. But Jalal Khan and the Lohani nobles " were almost mad with vexation at this unexpected triumph of the grasping deputy." Sher Khan was indeed trying for supreme power and it was natural for Jalal Khan to try for his removal. But the attempt of Sher's enemies to get rid of him by murder failed owing to his ' unusual circumspection ' and treachery among the Lohanis.

Jalal Khan then tried to free himself from his overpowerful deputy by seeking the support of Mahmud Shah, the king of Bengal (September 1533), who was also anxious to check the growth of Sher's power, which had caused some loss of his prestige and territory. But Sher defeated the allied forces of the Bengal Sultan and the Lohanis at Surajgarh (on the banks of the Kiul river, east of Bihar town). The victory at Surjagarh

3 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

6 *Vide* ante.

marks a turning-point in the career of Sher Khan. " Great as it was as a military achievement, it was greater in its far-reaching political result But for the victory at Surajgarh, the jagirdar of Sahsaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindusthan politics to run, in spite of himself, a race for the Empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah and Humayun Padshah."[7]

This victory brought Bihar under his control, but he still apprehended the designs of Humayun and moved cautiously. Sher got an opportunity when Humayun became embroiled in a war with Bahadur. He then turned his attention towards Bengal, and by defeating all resistance offered by the troops of Mahmud Shah, appeared before its capital, Gaur, towards the end of February 1536, not through the usual route by way of the Teliaghari passes but through " another less protracted " but infrequented way.[8] The week ruler of Bengal made no further efforts and made peace with him by paying him a ransom amounting to thirteen lakhs of gold pieces. The " territory from the Kiul to Sikrigarh, some 90 miles in length with a breadth of 30 miles at various places " was ceded to Sher. His moral prestige was also immensely increased, and, as in the West, Bahadur Shah of Gujrat was then a fugitive at the island of Diu, most of the Afghan nobles now transferred their allegiance to Sher Khan, the rising sun in the East. Sher invaded Bengal a second time about the middle of October 1537 and closely blockaded the city of Gaur. But this renewed success of the ambitious *jagirdar* convinced Humayun, who had returned from Malwa (1536) and was now spending his days leisurely at Agra, of the formidable nature of the Afghan menace in the East. He marched from Agra to lead an expedition against Sher Khan in the second week of December 1537. But he committed a tactical blunder at the very beginning because instead of marching straight to Gaur where, in combination with the Bengal king, he might have inflicted a crushing defeat on Sher Khan, he besieged Chunar. The

7 Qanungo, p. 104.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 119—28.

strong garrison left by Sher Khan at Chunar defended the fort in spite of every effort on the part of the assailants, while "the six months during which Humayun was detained by the siege of Chunar afforded a most valuable breathing-time for Sher Khan,"[9] who utilised it in reducing Gaur (April 1538). He had also seized the fortress of Rohtas by a piece of consummate treachery and had sent his family and treasures there, before the capture of Chunar by Humayun. Humayun, after all this, turned towards Bengal, and captured Gaur (July 1538) and renamed it *Jinnatabad* or the 'Paradise City.' But Sher Khan effected his escape from it almost about the same time and tried to compensate his loss of Bengal by occupying the Mughal possessions in Bihar and Jaunpur, and plundering the country as far west as Kanauj.

Humayun had been spending his time in Bengal in idleness and repose when the news of Sher Khan's successes in his rear disconcerted him. He left Gaur and proceeded hastily to oppose Sher Khan, who, with his Afghan followers, met the imperial forces at Chaunsa near Buxar and inflicted a defeat on them (June 1539).

By the victory at Chaunsa "the horizon of Sher Khan's ambition was immensely widened." Humayun's power and prestige sunk low and Sher Khan banished all thought of acknowledging his authority. He became the *de facto* ruler of the territories "bounded on the west by the bend of the Ganges from Kanauj to Chunar, on the south by the hills of Jharkhand (from Rohtas to Birbhum) and the Bay of Bengal, on the east by the hills of Assam and Chittagong, and on the north by the Himalayas." He legalised his conquests of the sword by formally assuming the royal title (Khan being changed into Shah) and by ordering the coins to be struck and the *Khutba* to be read in his own name. Next year, Humayun again tried to retrieve his fortune, but in spite of his best efforts he failed to secure the cooperation of his faithless brothers. His troops were also demoralised and Sher Shah inflicted a terrible defeat on him at the battle of the Ganges or Bilgram,

[9] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 140.

commonly known as the battle of Kanauj. As a result of this victory the throne of Delhi passed ino the hands of the Afghans and the Mughal Emperor was reduced to the position of a helpless fugitive.

Sher Shah's conquests did not stop there. While pursuing the Mughals in the Punjab, he turned his attention towards the Gakkar country, a mountainous tract, which lay between the upper courses of the Indus and the Jhelum and was inhabited by many warlike independent tribes. The conquest of this tract was necessary for strategic reasons, because an invader from the north-west could easily march through this region and enter into the heart of the Punjab with the support of these warlike tribes. The whole tract was ravaged by Sher Shah, but he could not reduce it thoroughly as the rebellion of the Bengal Governor soon demanded his presence there. He marched towards Bengal about the middle of March 1541, leaving his able lieutenants with 50,000 troops for bringing the country under control.

After dismissing the rebellious Governor of Bengal, Sher Shah " changed the military character of the provincial administration and substituted a completely new mechanism, at once original in principle and efficient in working "; he thus broke away from the medieval tradition, and introduced modernism in Indian administration. He reduced the extent of the provinces and divided them into several units, each of which was to be governed by an officer directly appointed by him and responsible to him alone.[10] He next tried to uproot the Rajput influence in the West, that, 14 years ago, had threatened to dominate over all Northern India. After conquering Malwa, he directed his arms against Puran Mal of Raisin. After a slight resistance, the garrison in the fort of Raisin capitulated on terms, by which the Rajputs promised to evacuate the fort if hey were allowed to pass " unmolested " beyond the frontier of Malwa. But as soon the Rajputs came out of the walls of the fort, the Afghans, burning with fanaticism, fell on them furiously. The Rajputs destroyed

10 Qanungo, p. 241; Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 162.

their wives and children, and with the characteristic gallantry of their race died to a man fighting against their foes. The treacherous massacre of the Raisin garrison has been severely condemned by many modern writers.[11] Prof. Qanungo has however, tried to exonerate Sher Shah[12] from the charge of deliberate treachery. But it is hard to acquit him of any responsibility in the matter, and it can be said that this incident remains a dark spot on Sher Shah's reputation. Multan and Sindh were conquered by the Governor of the Punjab, and Sher Shah personally proceeded against Maldev, the Rajput Rana of Marwar. When the Rajputs presented a bold front, Sher Shah tried to defeat their valour by cunning. He sent to Maldev several forged letters supposed to have been written by the Rajput generals to himself promising obedience. Thus deceived, Maldev retreated from the field. But the Rajput generals, whose sense of honour had been deeply touched, fought with desperate valour. Sher ultimately won a victory at a great cost, having been on the point of losing his empire for a handful of millets. Then after reducing the whole region from Ajmer to Abu, he proceeded to besiege Kalinjar. The fort was captured, but Sher Shah was accidentally burnt by an explosion of gunpowder and died on 22nd May, 1545.

Sher Shah was not only a great conqueror, but he showed greater qualities as an administrator. Appearing like a bright comet in the sky of Indo-Moslem history for a period all too short, he yet brought with him wise and beneficent reforms in every conceivable branch of administration, which have influenced many of the famous administrators of India in succeeding ages. Mr. Keene has affirmed that "no government—not even the British—has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan."[13] He was not a medieval military autocrat like his predecessors, who strengthened the top by neglecting the

11 Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 456; Elliot, Vol. IV, p. viii (Preface); Erskine, Vol. II, p. 434.

12 Qanungo's *Sher Shah*, pp. 297—99.

13 *Turks in India*, p. 42.

bottom in the body-politic of the realm, but he was endowed with the spirit of an enlightened despot, which led him to apply all the powers of his active mind to the task of devising a system of government for the people which was strong as well as beneficent. He wanted to build his greatness on the happiness and contentment of his subjects and not by oppressing them. Among the Muslim rulers of India, "Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the people's will."[14] He divided the whole Empire into 47 divisions, each of which was subdivided into a number of *parganas*. In each *pargana*, he appointed one *Amin*, one *Shiqdar*, one treasurer, one Hindu writer and one Persian writer to write accounts. The *Shiqdar* was entrusted with police duties and the *Amin*, who was responsible to the central government, was charged with the assessment and collection of revenues. The next higher administrative unit was the *Sarkar* over which Sher Shah appointed the *Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran* and *Munsif-i-Munsifan*, who were to look after the work of the subordinate *pargana* officers. He also introduced a practice of transferring the officers both in the *pargana* and the *sarkar* every two or three years. He extended his personal supervision over every branch of the administration. He "attended to every business of the kingdom and the revenue, whether great or small, in his own person."[15]

In organising the army, he accepted the main principles of Alauddin's military system, and made it stronger and more efficient. Instead of relying on the services of a body of retainers or a feudal levy, he maintained soldiers each of whom owed an allegiance to him and was bound to the immediate commanding officer by an official tie and not one of personal and feudal attachment. He recruited the soldiers directly and personally and fixed their salaries after proper inspection. Thus Sher Shah introduced another modern

14 *Memoirs of the Races of the N.-W.-Frontier Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 97.

15 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

element in the history of India. He revived Alauddin's system of branding (*dagh*) horses to prevent corruption and introduced the "practice of taking down the descriptive rolls." There was however nothing like Akbar's *mansabdari* system; the Afghans would have been offended by such gradations of service. Parts of the army were stationed in different strategic points of the empire. One such part was called a *fauj* and was under the command of a *faujdar* whose duties were purely military. Sher Shah himself kept under his direct command 150,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, well-trained and armed with muskets and bows. He admitted Hindus to important positions in the army: one of his best generals was Brahmajit Gaur, who was sent in pursuit of Humayun after the battles of Chaunsa and Bilgram. He enforced a strict discipline, and the soldiers were particularly enjoined to refrain, during their marches, from destroying in any way the crops of the cultivators. If the crops of any cultivator were injured then the state repaired his loss, while the offenders were punished.

His revenue reforms increased the resources of the state and at the same time protected the interests of the people. Lands were surveyed under proper supervision, and one-fourth of the gross produce was fixed as the government revenue.[16] It was payable in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter mode. The rights and liabilities of the *rayats* were fixed: he took from every individual *rayat* a *kabuliyat* (agreement) and gave him a *patta* (title-deed) in return. Usually the revenue was collected by the *muqaddam* but the *rayats* were sometimes encouraged to pay direct to the *pargana* treasury. He insisted on strictly punctual and full payment of the amount assessed and enforced it where necessary. The revenue officers were instructed to be lenient at the time of assessment but to be strong in the matter of collection.

16 Prof. Paramatma Saran contends that "Sher Shah used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue," *B. & O. Research Society's Journal*, March 1931. Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 373 footnote.

His reforms of the currency and the tariff system are eloquent proofs of his statesmanship. "Sher Shah's reign constitutes an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only in its specific mint reforms but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and as introducing many of those reforms which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own."[17] His tariff reform furthered the cause of trade, by freeing it from vexatious internal customs at various places. He allowed the levy of customs on merchandise only at the frontiers and at the place of sale.

He connected the different parts of the Empire by reconstructing and making new alignments of old high roads for public convenience as well as for the defence of the Empire. The longest road was that which ran from Sonargaon (near Dacca) to the Indus, 1500 *kos* in length. There was another road from Agra to Burhanpur,[17a] a third road from Agra to Jodhpur and the fort of Chitor ; and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. Trees were planted on both sides of the roads and *sarais* were built at short regular distances, separate arrangements being made for Hindus and Muhammadans. These *sarais* were maintained from the lands near them granted by the state for that purpose. In every *sarai* there was a well, a *masjid,* a staff of officers who were generally an *imam,* a *muezzin,* and several watchmen. Prof. Qanungo remarks that "these were the veritable arteries of the empire, diffusing a new life among its hitherto benumbed limbs."[18] Busy market towns developed near some of those *sarais,* and there the people exchanged agricultural products in return for commodoties of comfort. They also served the purpose of *dak-chaukis* or post-houses supplying Sher Shah's government with news from the distant parts of the empire. These systems were not of course new to India but were restored from

17 Thomas' *Chronicles of Pathan Kings,* p. 403.

17a Some writers hold that this road ran up to Mandu.

18 *Sher Shah,* p. 392.

decay in the preceding age, and improved and extended by Sher Shah.[19]

He did not rest satisfied with simply the construction of roads, but made them safe for travel and trade by establishing a highly efficient police system. Without subjecting the people to frequent and unnecessary interference by the police he tried to enforce the principle of local responsibility for local crimes. For any untraced theft, robbery or murder within the jurisdiction of an *Amil* or *Shiqdar*, the *Muqaddams* (village headmen) had to find out and produce the culprits before the government officers, on pain of heavy state-regulated penalties in cases of failure, and death in cases of personal implication. Though primitive and simple, this system contributed to the maintenance of peace and security within the country. All the Persian writers testify to its efficiency. Nizamuddin, who cannot be said to be biased in favour of Sher Shah, says: "Such was the state of safety of highways that if anyone carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (*i.e.*, deserted places) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch."[20] There was also a system of espionage which supplied Sher Shah with detailed information about what happened in his kingdom.[21] He was impartial in administering justice and made no distinction between the high and the low. He did not spare even "his near relations, his dear sons, his renowned nobles." The criminal law was severe, and criminal justice was in the hands of the chief *Shiqdar*. The chief *Munsif* dealt with revenue cases, while other civil cases were tried by the *Qazi* and the *Mir-i-Adal*.

Though a devout Mussalman, Sher Shah was not a bigot. His attitude was intellectual and he followed a policy of toleration towards his Hindu subjects. Gifted with the keen vision of a true statesman, he realised that a Muslim ruler of

19 Erskine, Vol. II, p. 443; Qanungo, pp. 393—95.

20 Quoted in Qanungo, p. 397.

21 Qanungo, p. 393.

India could ignore and hurt the sentiments of the Hindu subjects only at the risk of his own authority. "His attitude towards Hinduism" remarks Prof. Qanungo, "was not one of contemptuous sufferance but of respectful deference ; it received due recognition in the state."

Sher Shah, who from his position as the son of a *jagirdar* made himself the Emperor of India and the exponent of the Afghan national revival, was one of the greatest rulers that this country has produced. Though he undertook many military expeditions in order to realise his ambitions, yet he was not a man of cruel nature or blood-thirsty temperament. "He was a veritable father to his people ; stern to the unruly, but all kindness and love to the weak, the disabled and the destitute." The royal kitchen, in keeping with old Indian tradition, was open for the needy and the famished. As a soldier also he was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and forbade hs soldiers to commit acts of rapine and plunder. "In his military character," remarks Mr. Erskine, "there was a rare union of caution and enterprise."[22] He did not hold the throne for personal enjoyment and luxuries. but he cherished a lofty ideal of kingship. Like Asoka and Harsha he followed the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active." He possessed an indefatigable industry, which he applied to the service of the state, every department receiving his minute attention and careful supervision. He initiated some new laws and improved some old ones. Erskine remarks, "Sher Shah had more of the spirit of a legislator and of a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."[23] He had also a taste for buildings, which is testified to by his noble mausoleum at Sahsaram which has been extolled as one of the finest specimens of Indo-Moslem architecture. For his noble activities and the strength and purity of his personal character Sher Shah deserves a high place in history. Free from medieval political and religious dogmatism, his mind was full of many of those modern ideas

[22] *History of India,* Vol. II, p. 442.

[23] *History of India,* Vol. II, p. 443.

which have influenced history in succeeding ages. By his administrative and economic reforms, and the policy of religious toleration he prepared the ground for Akbar's work. With a liberal mind, uninfluenced by religious fanaticism, he tried to build up a national state by reconciling the followers of rival creeds. Dr. Vincent Smith rightly remarks, " If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the ' Great Moghuls ' would not have appeared on the stage of history. His right to the throne was quite as good as that of Humayun."[24] It should also be noted that while Humayun was a foreigner, Sher Shah's family, a frontier one by origin, had lived in the heart of India for three generations, and " Sher Shah was personally far abler than his rival."

The Afghan revival began with Sher Shah and almost ended with his death. After him, dissensions appeared once again among the Afghans, and the independent attitude and refractoriness of the Afghan nobles impaired the strength and unity of Pathan Empire.[25] " The whole kingdom was in a flame in consequence of the diversity of interests and the number of pretenders to the throne." On his death, his second son, Jalal Khan, who happened to be then at Rewah, was proclaimed king under the name of Sultan Islam Shah, commonly known as Selim Shah. But in order to strengthen his own position against intrigues of his elder brother and of the Afghan nobles he had to take recourse to drastic measures. After securing his father's treasures in Chunar, he accomplished the death of some hostile nobles by stratagem. He was jealous of the despotic power of some of the great Amirs, who governed the more important provinces, and the first victim of his wrath was Shujjat Khan, Governor of Malwa. The latter, however, saved his position by timely submission to the Sultan. But on hearing that Azim Humayun, the governor of the Punjab, had raised the standard of rebellion, Selim Shah proceeded to suppress it and defeated

[24] *Oxford History*, p. 329.

[25] Erskine, Vol. II, p. 461.

the rebels at the battle of Ambala.[26] The second attempt of Azim Humayun against the Sultan also ended in failure and he fled to Kashmir where he was shot dead by some of his tribesmen.

Selim Shah tried to " settle all the affairs of the kingdom in a regular systematic plan " and adopted various measures to keep the nobles under control. He deprived them of their war elephants, appropriated to himself all the revenues of the kingdom and kept himself informed of all that happened in his kingdom through spies. He mantained something like a standing army and stationed troops in different parts of his dominion. " His internal administration was excellent. The *Kanungoes*, who kept the revenue accounts of *parganas*, he employed to watch over and report on the condition of the ryots, and the state of cultivation of the crops, and the extent of offences and crimes."[27] He retained most of the wise reforms of his father. In civil cases justice was administered by the secular *Munsif* and not by the ecclesiastical *Mufti* or *Kazi* as before.

He died in November 1554, and was succeeded by his young son Firuz Khan, who was shortly murdered by his maternal uncle Mubariz Khan (son of Nizam Khan Sur, Sher Shah's younger brother and brother of Firuz's mother Bibi Bai) who ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He was pleasure-loving, cruel, indolent and incompetent. The control of affairs passed into the hands of Hemu, who, though a low-born and uneducated Hindu shopkeeper was a man of intelligence and vigour. He was in fact a self-made man, who rose in state service by sheer merit: originally a Baniya of Rewari in Mewat, he became Superintendent of Markets, then Director-General of the Army and the Emperor's Chief Minister. But the suspicious temper and the follies of his master foiled his best efforts and it became impossible for him to check the disruptive forces which were slowly undermining the strength of the empire. Rebellions broke out in different

26 *Ibid.*, p. 458.

27 Quoted in Erskine, Vol. II, p. 472.

parts in Bengal, Malwa and the Punjab. Muhammad Adil's own cousin Ibrahim forcibly took possession of Delhi and Agra and assumed the titles and the insignia of royalty. But Ahmed Khan Sur, the governor of the Punjab, who also assumed the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah, proceeded against Ibrahim and defeated him at Farra (about ten *kos* from Agra). The latter fled to Sambhal, and Sikandar, who had now taken possession of the whole country from the Indus to the Ganges, was declared Emperor by the Afghans. But a house divided against itself cannot stand for a long time, and, torn by internal dissensions, the Pathan Empire followed the path of decay, till the final blow was struck in the field of Panipat in 1556. The situation encouraged the Mughals to appear once again after an exodus of about two decades, and the second battle of Panipat restored their lost dominion founded by the first battle thirty years ago.

CHAPTER III

RESTORATION OF MUGHAL DOMINION

HUMAYUN AND AKBAR (UP TO 1562)

AFTER the battle of Bilgram, Humayun had crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Agra, where he " found little to console him. The quarrels of the brothers and their mutual jealousies had thrown everything into disorder."[1] Somehow taking possession of his family and a part of their treasure, he went on to Delhi. But finding it possible to hold the city, he left for Sirhind, being pursued by the victorious Afghans. Yet he got no help from his brothers. Instead of unity there was all suspicion, jealousy and distrust among them, and especially Kamran's conduct was very unkind. He then left for Sindh and laid siege to Bhakkar, but there also fortune went against him, because the hostile measures of Shah Husain, who held the government of Sindh, and the influx of a large number of fugitives caused scarcity of food in his camp.[2] While thus wandering in the deserts of Sindh in the hope of finding a rallying ground, he contracted, early in 1542, a lucky marriage with Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of Shaikh Ali Ambar Jaini, who had been preceptor to Humayun's younger brother Hindal. Finding no sympathy from his brothers, Humayun next tried to secure the help of Maldeva, the Rajput chief of Jodhpur, who promised to help him with a contingent of 20,000 Rajputs. But the Rajput chief failed to keep his words for fear of Sher Shah, and the discrowned Emperor, without making any further attempt at winning over the Rajput States, sought refuge in Amarkot, where the local Hindu chief Rana Prasad promised to help him in conquering Thatta and Bhakkar. It was here that Akbar was born on the 23rd of November, 1542 A.D. Humayun had nothing to celebrate this

1 Erskine, Vol. II, p. 193.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

happy occasion but a pod of musk, which he distributd among his principal followers, saying: " This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." Soon after this Humayun proceeded towards Bhakkar with 1,000 men, but Rajputs and Moghuls could not act together, and the ruler of Bhakkar entered into a treaty with him by which he agreed to supply him with 30 boats, 10,000 *mishkals*, 2,000 loads of grain and 300 camels to enable him to proceed to Kandahar. Kamran, who had by that time made himself the master of the entire Afghanistan, refused to give an asylum to Humayun. Askari and Hindal had also gone over to Kamran's side. Thus " driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master, and viewing with the deepest dread, the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdom of his father and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity "[3] of the ruler of Persia leaving his one-year old child at Kandahar. Shah Tahmasp, the young ruler of Persia, received Humayun hospitably on his arrival there. But the Shah promised to help Humayun only if the latter conformed to the Shia sect of Islam. With the advice of his well-wishers and through the mediation of the Shah's sister, Humayun concluded a formal treaty with him by promising to declare himself a Shia, to have the Shah's name proclaimed in the Khutba, and to cede Kandahar to him in case of success. The Shah thereupon placed at his disposal a force of 14,000 men with the help of which he captured Kandahar (1545) and Kabul. The Shah of Persia, however, did not get Kandahar, which remained in Humayun's hands, and this later on led to hostilities between the Mughals and the Persian Empire. Kamran was driven out of Kabul and Humayun recovered his little son Akbar, who had been exposed to many perils by his uncle. Mirza Hindal was killed in a night encounter ; Kamran,

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 274. Humayun wrote the following in a quatrain to the ruler of Persia: " I hope that the Shah will out of kindness treat me as Ali treated Salaman in the desert of Arzhan."
Al Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 572.

failing to get support at Salim Sur's court and betrayed by the Gakkars, was imprisoned and being deprived of his eyesight, was sent to Mecca with his devoted wife ; Mirza Askari was also allowed to proceed thither.

Thus being free from all his rivals in the north-west, Humayun turned towards the reconquest of Hindusthan. The dissensions among the sûccessors of Sher Shah gave him an opportunity, and in November 1554 he took the road to the plains of Hindusthan, and in February 1555 Lahore fell into his hands. Sikandar Sur, the rebel governor of the Punjab, was defeated in a battle near Sirhind, and in July Humayun occupied Delhi and Agra. Thus Humayun effected his restoration to his father's dominions. But he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his victory gained after much toil and hardship ; a sudden fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi caused his death on 24th January, 1556. Humayun had only achieved a temporary military success; he had no time to organise and consolidate, and the real restoration of Mughal rule was still a difficult matter. Akbar, then in the Punjab with Bairam on state business, was formally enthroned in a garden at Kalanaur (a small town fifteen miles west from Gurdaspur town) on 14th February, 1556, when he was a mere boy of thirteen and had therefore to accept the regency of his father's old friend and adviser, Bairam Khan. But, as Dr. Smith observes, " the enthronement of the boy Padshah simply registered a claim to sovereignty. When he went through the ceremony at Kalanaur he could not be said to possess any definite kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab, and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshah in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[4]

The India of 1556 presented a complex as well as dark picture. It was no well-organised political unit but was divided

[4] *Akbar*, p. 31.

into a number of independent states, each striving for supremacy. The civil wars of the Surs had undone many of the beneficent reforms of Sher Shah ; in fact, after Selim Shah, these were hardly worked out for the welfare of the subjects. A terrible famine had ravaged the country for two years. Both Badaoni[5] and Abul Fazl have described the horrors of this visitation.[6] In the north-west Kabul was in the hands of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, who governed it practically in an independent manner. In the north, Kashmir was under a local Muhammadan dynasty and the Himalayan states were similarly independent. Sindh and Multan had freed themselves from imperial control after the death of Sher Shah. Bengal had fallen into the hands of the Sur Kings ; and though Muhammad Adil Shah had been expelled from Delhi by Ibrahim Khan (Sur), his minister, Himu was making preparations for preventing the establishment of Mughal authority in India. Sikandar Sur, after his defeat by Bairam at the battle of Sirhind in 1555, was on the look-out from his Himalayan retreat for an opportunity to strike another blow for restoring Afghan supremacy. The kingdom of Orissa acknowledged no overlord, and in spite of some check in the time of Sher Shah the Rajput states had during the previous quarter-century recovered their power and influence, which enabled them to play an important part in the history of India from this time. Malwa and Gujrat had long been independent and so far beyond the grasp of the Mughals or the Surs ; and Gondwana (modern Central Provinces) was under the control of independent local chieftains. South of the Vindhyas, Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golconda were ruled by their own Sultans, who were totally indifferent about the Padshah of Delhi and the politics of Hindusthan. Their ken was on the south, where the Vijaynagar Empire possessed absolute mastery over the country extending from the Krishna and the Tungabhadra to Cape Comorin and beyond. The Portuguese had established themselves on the western coast

5 Ranking's translation, Vol. I, pp. 549—91.

6 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI, p. 21.

and come to possess ports like Goa and Diu. Thus Akbar's task of building up a dominion was immensely difficult.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Himu, the able general and minister of Muhammad Adil Sur, threw out an open challenge to Mughal pretensions. "In the matter of legitimate right," remarks Dr. Smith, "there was nothing to choose between Akbar, the representative of Babar, and Sikandar (Ibrahim or Adil) the representative(s) of Sher Shah. The claims of the rivals could be decided only by the sword."[7] Himu now unsheathed his sword to assert the right of his master Adil, and failing him, to establish his own power. He first disposed of Ibrahim Sur's pretensions by utterly defeating him and then marched upon Delhi and defeated the Mughal forces under Tardi Beg, the Governor of Delhi. The latter fled to Akbar's camp, where he was put to death by the orders of Bairam Khan. Authorities are divided in their opinion about Akbar's responsibility for the general's death. Badaoni writes that Bairam Khan proved Tardi Beg's treachery by "bringing Khan Zaman and many others as witnesses to substantiate his accusation," and "obtained a sort of permission (from Akbar) to put him to death."[8] Abul Fazl writes that Tardi Beg and Bairam Khan, though professing friendship outwardly, were in reality rivals of each other. So Bairam took advantage of Tardi Beg's failure to hold Delhi in order to get rid of his rival and caused his death by his followers, without taking previous permission from Akbar, though the latter afterwards submitted to his protector's act. Some writers "denounce the informal and treacherous execution of Tardi Beg as a mere murder." But Akbar cannot really be blamed for it; he was helpless in the hands of his regent Bairam Khan, whose wishes he could not very well override without subjecting himself to a great risk at that critical time. It is true that Bairam's presence and advice had then become indispensably necessary for Akbar and that "the success of Tardi Beg in his rivalry with Bairam Khan certainly would have involved the destruction of the

[7] *Akbar*, p. 34.

[8] Vol. II, p. 7.

latter, and in all probability that of Akbar also."[9] But the manner in which he was put to death casts an odium upon Bairam Khan.

With Delhi and Agra under his control, Himu could afford to ignore his worthless and unpopular master, and he now assumed the title of *Vikramajit* or *Vikramaditya*, and began to strike coins in his own name, thus making a bold bid for a Hindu empire of Hindusthan. He saw hundreds of men, Muslims as well as Hindus, perishing miserably before his eyes from the effects of a terrible famine, which was raging severely in the Delhi and Agra regions. But nothing moved by these Himu proceeded to equip a large army including 1,500 war elephants[10] and to finance his campaigns by ruthless exactions. He then advanced to the field of Panipat, where Bairam Khan and Akbar had already come up. Himu began the fight in a brave and confident spirit, and defeated the right and left wings of the Mughal army. But a stray arrow decided the day. Himu was struck by it in the eye, and became unconscious in his *howdah* ; confusion broke out in his army, and the soldiers were scattered in various directions. Himu was taken prisoner and put to death, according to some by Bairam, on the refusal of Akbar to kill him with his own hands, and according to others by Akbar himself at the instigation of Bairam. Dr. Smith does not believe that " magnanimous sentiment of unwillingness to strike a helpless prisoner already half dead compelled him (Akbar) to refuse to obey his guardian's instructions " and he holds that " this is opposed to the clear statements of Ahmad Yadgar and the Dutch writer, van den Broecke, as well as to the probabilities of the case."[11] Himu's head was sent to Kabul to be exposed and his body was gibbeted at Delhi as a warning to those who would resist Bairam Khan and Akbar.[12]

Thus the fate of India was decided for a second time in the historic field of Panipat. Delhi and Agra soon came fully

9 V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 36.
10 Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 7.
11 V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 39.
12 *Ibid.*

under the control of the Mughals, and Himu's death destroyed all chances of the establishment of a Pathan or a Hindu Empire in India. The battle of Panipat delivered the verdict in favour of the Mughals. Sikandar Sur, who had fled to the Siwaliks, now surrendered himself[13] to the victors in May 1757, at Mankot (a fort in the lower hills now included in the Jammu district of the Kashmir state), and was granted the Kharid and Bihar districts as a fief wherefrom he was soon expelled by Akbar, and fleeing to Bengal, died there shortly after (1558-59). Muhammad Adil Shah died fighting at Monghyr (1556) against the Afghan (Sur) governor of Bengal. Ibrahim Sur, after his defeat at the hands of Himu, abandoned Upper India, and wandering from place to place found an asylum in Orissa, where he was killed ten years later (1567-68). Thus soon none was left to compete with Akbar for the lordship of Hindusthan except his younger brother, Muhammad Hakim of Kabul, who sometimes tried to contest Akbar's claims.

But even after this much was left to be done before Akbar could be regarded as really restored to his grandfather's empire, or that empire could itself be regarded as abiding. Between 1558 and 1560 Gwalior, Ajmer, and Jaunpur were added to his dominion. Soon after this he exhibited his desire to free himself from the control of his protector Bairam Khan. On arriving at the age of eighteen (1560) Akbar " began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name."[14] There is no doubt that Bairam Khan was an experienced and masterful man, and that he had served Humayun with fidelity during his troubles and wanderings from place to place for which sincere devotion he has received praise even from an orthodox Sunni writer like Badaoni.[15] Abul Fazl also wites that his " natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded

13 Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 11-12.

14 V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 43.

15 Vol. II. p. 41.

and arrogance was fostered by flattery."[16] With the accumulation of excessive powers in his hands, he began to abuse them in various ways. He became extremely suspicious and adopted a stern and relentless policy towards his supposed and suspected enemies. He followed a policy of favouritism and gave preference to his own servants ignoring the just claims of others. Abul Fazl notes that " at length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers like Wali Beg Zul Kadar and Shaikh Gadai Kambu."[17] The appointment of Shaikh Gadai, who was a Shiah, to the exalted office of the *Sadar-i-Sadur,* offended the Sunnis at the Court. The execution of Tardi Beg made many of the nobles anxious about their own position in Court under Bairam Khan's control. Moreover, he was suspected of " favouring the candidacy " of Abul Qassim, son of Kamran, for the throne of Hindusthan. Thus, between the regent misusing his powers and the minor ruler Akbar growing in judgment, a collision became inevitable. The flame of disaffection was fanned by Hamida Banu Begum, the Queen-mother, Maham Anaga, the foster-mother of Akbar, her son Adam Khan with her relative Shihabuddin, the governor of Delhi. All of them entered into a secret conspiracy that proceeded cautiously to overthrow Bairam Khan, who till then controlled the army and the administration.

As arranged by the conspirators, Akbar proceeded to Delhi on the pretext of seeing his mother who was reported to be ill (1560). There he informed Bairam that he intended to take the reins of government in his own hands and expressed his desire that he should leave for Mecca, but that a fief would be granted to him, of which he will receive the revenues through his agents. Bairam submitted without murmur, but as he was proceeding towards Biyana (April 1560), his enemies induced Akbar to send Pir Muhammad, one of Bairam Khan's former subordinates, behind him, " to arrange for his leaving the imperial domains," or as Badaoni puts it " to pack him off as

16 E. D., Vol. VI, p. 24.

17 *Ibid.*

quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay." Bairam took this as an insult and rebelled. He was however defeated near Jalandhar and was brought before Akbar, who forgave his former guardian and treated him with generosity and consideration for his services. He was now allowed to start again for Mecca in a manner befitting his position and past services, but on his way he was stabbed to death (January, 1561) by a Lohani Afghan, whose father had been killed in the battle of Machhiwara, where the Mughal forces were under the command of Bairam Khan. His camp was plundered, but his family was somehow saved from the hand of the Afghans ; his little son Abdur Rahim was taken under Akbar's protection and became afterwards the premier noble of the Empire.

The removal of Bairam Khan did not, however, immediately transfer the reins of government into Akbar's hands. For two years more his foster-mother Maham Anaga with her son Adam Khan and relatives maintained an undue ascendancy in the state. In 1560 an expedition against Malwa was sent under Adam Khan and Pir Muhammad. They defeated (1561) Baz Bahadur, the Afghan ruler of the country, son of Shujjat Khan who had died in 1555, near Sarangpur (now in the Dewas State, Central India Agency) and captured much booty. But they committed great oppressions on the people, which have been vividly described by the historian Badaoni, who was himself an eye-witness[18] of these scenes. Adam Khan sent only a few elephants to Akbar and appropriated to himself " most of the elephants, and the ladies of the harem, and the dancing-girls belonging to Baz Bahadur, and all his precious things."[19] Akbar, therefore, marched in person to Malwa in order to punish Adam Khan, but the latter obtained his pardon through his mother's intercession. Akbar recalled Adam Khan from Malwa making over the government of the country to Pir Muhammad. But the latter also misused his power by

18 Vol. II, p. 43.

19 *Ibid.*

committing brutal cruelties[20] and managed things in such a wrong way that Baz Bahadur in conjunction with some Zamindars inflicted a defeat on him and recovered Malwa. About this time Shamsuddin Muhammad Atka Khan, who had come from Kabul in the month of November 1561, was appointed by Akbar to the office of vakil (minister) but Maham Anaga, who "regarded herself as the substantive prime minister," did not like this transfer of premiership from her hands. Her son Adam Khan, instigated by Munim Khan, Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan and others, who were jealous of Muhammad Atka Khan, murdered him when the latter was engaged in public business at the palace. At this Akbar's resentment against the undue influence of his foster-mother burst forth; he ordered his attendants to throw Adam Khan down the ramparts of the fort as a result of which he met with a speedy death. His mother also followed him to the grave forty days later. It should not be concluded that Maham Anaga's son could be thus deprived of his life because she had no real influence on the state. This incident is to be regarded rather as a desperate attempt on the part of Akbar to get rid of Maham Anaga's and her relatives' beneful influence under which Akbar had been fretting and which he had naturally tried on various other occasions to check in vain. It was at last with the disappearance of Maham Anaga and her son (followed soon after by the similar fate of his mother's brother) that the harem or 'petticoat' influence came to an end and Akbar became free from his 20th year to act for himself and to confirm his hold on the restored dominion of his grandfather. He at once tried to remove the financial disorders in the state by employing for this purpose a capable eunuch, who had served the Sur Kings and was now honoured with the title of Itimad Khan.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLIDATION, EXPANSION AND ZENITH OF THE MUGHAL FMPIRE (1562—1707)

SECTION I

THE DYNASTY, AND THE SUCCESSION IN THE EMPIRE

AKBAR occupies a unique position in the history of Muslim India. His reign, which lasted till 1605, saw the real consolidation of the Mughal Empire. Born in the midst of a desert, when his father was a crownless wanderer from place to place, and trained in the school of adversity. Akbar's mind was plentifully sown with the seeds of greatness. He inherited a kingdom, weak and broken, but left it strong and consolidated by his uncommon abilities as a ruler. Both the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbarnamah* speak in high terms about his qualities and a hostile critic like Badaoni has testified to his masterly personality. Such was its grandeur that " anybody even at the first glance would recognise him as a king." Jahangir remarks in the Memoirs that his father " in his actions and movements was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him."[1]

Like other Timurid princes he was a man of great courage and possessed an extraordinary physical strength. He was devoted to hunting excursions and sports from his boyhood. He knew no fear either in the pursuit of game or in the field of battle, and " like Alexander of Macedon, was always ready to risk his life, regardless of political consequences."[2] He scmetimes plunged his forces into the full-flooded rivers during the rainy season and safely crossed over to the other side. He enjoyed animal combats and gladiatorial fights, but he did not indulge in cruelty for its own sake. His heart was full of deep

[1] The *Tuzik-i-Jahangiri* or Memoirs of Jahangir translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 33—37.

[2] V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 339.

affection towards his mother, other relatives and little children. He was not unnecessarily revengeful, and we find that a repentant rebel could often secure his pardon, for example he treated his brother Hakim very kindly though the latter had rebelled against him. He was sometimes subject to outbursts of wrath and on such occasions the culprits were summarily dealt with, as he had done with his uncle Muazzam and his foster-brother Adam Khan. But he quickly recovered his normal temper and " as a rule he had perfect self-control."[3] Peruschi has justly observed : " the prince rarely loses his self-temper, but if he should fall into a passion, it is impossible to say how great his wrath may be ; the good thing about it is that he perfectly regains his calmness, and that his wrath is short-lived, quickly passing from him ; for, in truth, he is naturally humane, gentle and kind."[4] His manners were exceedingly pleasant. Father Jerome Xavier, who was an eye-witness of his conduct for many years, has remarked about him that " in truth he was great with the great and lowly with the lowly."

He used a dress which was like that of other Muslim Kings ; the garments were made of silk with beautiful goldthread embroidery. His head-dress was set with pearls and other gems of great value. He liked European dresses which he wore sometimes in private life. He carried a dagger in his girdle, and some other arms on his person. He was moderate in his diet and took one meal a day, not at any fixed hour but when hunger required it. He had little liking for meat and gave it up entirely in his later years. He himself says : " From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal-food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it. I took this feeling to indicate the necessity for protecting animals and I refrained from animal-food." He was fond of fruits and was addicted to hard drinking in his early youth, but he drank less in his later years.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

[4] Quoted in *Ibid.*

Though technically illiterate, having no knowledge of alphabets,[5] Akbar was a man of varied literary taste and great intellectual curiosity. He had a wonderful and accurate memory which helped him to stock his mind with all kinds of useful information. He was interested in different branches of learning, such as philosophy, theology, history, and politics, on the difficult problems of which he could even express his own views. He gathered round him a band of scholars, poets and philosophers, and maintained in his palace a library containing books on various subjects. These books were read out to him by the scholars and thus he gained a fair acquaintance with Asiatic Literature, especially the writings of Sufi poets. He learned from the Jesuit missionaries the tenets of Christianity and the story of the Gospel; and he acquired some knowledge of the principles of Hinduism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism from the most reputed teachers. Thus Akbar's intellectual and moral culture was pretty high. Dr. V. A. Smith has remarked: "Anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy."[6] Besides these, he had a good taste for art, architecture and mechanical works, and himself effected some improvements in the manufacture of match-locks. Such an all-round genius cannot be really described as an illiterate person.

He was endowed with an indomitable energy and took keen interest in the minutest details of administration.[7] He used his abilities not for establishing a despotism by

5 Maulavi Shibili, in his work called *Sher-ul-Ajam* (Persian Poetry) announced on the authority of *Maisir-ul-Umra* that Akbar used to attend his tutor's house to learn *Hadis* (the traditions of the Holy Prophet Mohammad). Mr. A. Hameed Hasan, in his paper on 'Was Akbar Illiterate?' (The *Liberty*, 30th December, 1931) has tried to prove Akbar's literacy.

6 *Akbar*, p. 338.

7 "His Majesty looks upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline."—(*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 157.) One is reminded of Curzon.

destroying the rights and liberties of his subjects but he was gifted with the farsightedness of a true statesman, who laid the real foundation of the Mughal Empire in India on the goodwill and support of the governed. Thoroughly liberal in his ideas, he did not try to stem the tide of the cosmopolitan Indian Reformations (the *Bhakti* and *Mahdavi* movements) of the sixteenth century by appealing to orthodoxy and fanaticism, but he wisely utilised the modernistic tendencies of his age for constructive work. In short, he wanted not to go backward by checking the "invasion of ideas"[8] in his time, but to go forward in thought, culture and politics. Unlike many of his predecessors at Delhi, he did not regard his empire as affording a grand opportunity for personal enjoyment, but he held a high ideal of kingship. If we may believe his own words, that ideal was as set forth below:—"A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of God. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praise." "Tyranny is unlawful in every one, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world. Falsehood is improper in all men and most unseemly in monarchs. This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight."

Akbar was not a mere visionary, but he tried to act up to his ideal. Dr. V. A. Smith, relying mainly on the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries, has remarked that "tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action on several occasions marked the emperor's political proceedings."[9] But the said author has himself acknowledged that "a certain amount of finesse" is "inevitable in diplomacy and politics." As we have seen, Akbar did not inherit an easy throne from his father and he had to fight against various disintegrating forces before he could firmly establish his empire. Circumstances necessarily forced upon him a strict and careful policy in following which

8 *Vide* the Section on 'Religious Policy of the Mughals in Part III.'

9 *Akbar*, p. 342.

he might have sometimes taken recourse to diplomacy but it should not be forgotten that he did not regard it as an end in itself but as a means to an end. His methods and policy were certainly not more tortuous and crooked than those of his European contemporaries like Elizabeth of England or Philip II of Spain. In honesty and straightforwardness he was superior to those European sovereigns of his time and impartial writers will always disagree with Dr. Smith's remark that " it would not be reasonable to expect an Assiatic potentate like Akbar to be in advance of his European contemporaries in respect of straight dealing." From all points of view, Akbar can be ranked with the greatest rulers in the world.

The last days of Akbar were embittered by the rebellious conduct of his unworthy son Salim. By 1601, Salim, who was then thirty-one years of age, became eager for acquiring the throne, for which he took recourse to open rebellion against his father. All the remonstrances and threats of Akbar failed to win back the rebel son ; he moved to Allahabad, where he set himself up as an independent King, striking gold and copper coins in his own name, and entered into intrigues with the Portuguese for furthering his design. In June 1602, Akbar summoned Abul Fazl, who was then in the Deccan, to help him in the matter, but the latter was murdered on the way by Bir Singh, the Bundela chief of Orchha (eight miles from Jhansi), who had been hired by Salim for the purpose (August 1602). This ghastly murder deeply wounded Akbar's feelings and he tried to punish the murderer, who, however, successfully evaded capture.[10] In 1603 Sultana Salima Begum effected a temporary and insincere reconciliation between the father and the son, who again proceeded to Allahabad where he began to exercise his privileges as heir-apparent in a very oppressive manner.[11]

Meanwhile the nobles at the Imperial Court, including Raja Man Singh and Khan-i-Azam (Aziz Koka), had been forming a plot to prevent Salim's succession to the throne and to

10 *Takmila-i-Akbarnamah*, Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 113-14.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 112; V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 313.

place his son Khusrav on it. Both these grandees were actuated by private motives, because Khan-i-Azam's daughter was the only wife of the Prince Khusrav[12] and Raja Man Singh was the brother by adoption of his mother. But the plot failed owing to a strong opposition by several nobles and officers of the kingdom. Khan-i-Azam in the end recognised the claims of Salim and Raja Man Singh started for the Subah of Bengal with Prince Khusrav.

Prince Murad had died in 1599, and the death of Prince Daniyal (at Burhanpur in April 1604) from the effects of intemperate drinking removed all rival claimants from the path of Salim, who then became reconciled to his father. Akbar treated him like a petulant child, gave him several effective slaps on his face and rebuked him severely, before he was pardoned (November 1604). The old Emperor fell ill of fever accompanied by acute diarrhoea or dysentery in September 1605, and died on 17th October, a victim to poisoning as rumour went.

Salim formally ascended the throne at Agra, a week after his father's death, on 24th October, 1605, at the age of thirty-six and assumed the title of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padshah. He signalised his accession by issuing a large number of new coins, by releasing prisoners,[13] and by setting up the famous chain of justice[14] between the Shah-burji in the fort of Agra and a stone-pillar fixed on the banks of the Jumna, for enabling the aggrieved persons to lay their complaints before him. He then issued the twelve celebrated

12 Terry, who met Prince Khusrav several times, writes that he was " gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people . . . the very love and delight of them all . . . He was a man who contented himself with one wife . . ." —Terry, *Voyage to East India*, 1777 edition, p. 411, Khuda Baksh Library, Patna.

13 Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 130.

14 Jahangir himself says: " I ordered that the chain should be of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindusthani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of Irak." Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 284; Rodgers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 7. The cost must have been about three lakhs.

regulations, which he ordered as common rules of conduct in his dominions.[15] He granted a general amnesty to all his previous opponents and confirmed them in their offices. Abdur Rahman, the son of Abul Fazl, and Maha Singh, son of Raja Man Singh, were promoted to the rank of 2,000, Aziz Koka was allowed to retain his rank and jagirs but he was deprived of power and was put to various insults. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the father of Nurjahan, was elevated to the rank of 1,500 and received the title of Itimad-ud-daulah ; Shaikh Farid Bokhari, who had on one accasion distinguished himslf by leading the opposition against Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka, and who was a man of great bounty and sincere soul, was given the office of *Mir Bakhshi;* Zamana Beg, son of Ghyas Beg of Kabul, was raised to the rank of 1,500 and got the title of Mahabat Khan, which he later on made a distinguished one by his military genius. But the " most disgraceful promotion " was that of Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl, who was elevated to the rank of 3,000.

Jahangir is one of the most fascinating figures in Indian history. It is unjust to regard him as nothing but a cruel tyrant, " soaked in wine and sunk in debauch." Even Mr. Beveridge remarks, " Jahangir was indeed a strange mixture. The man who could stand by and see men flayed alive, ... could yet be a lover of justice and could spend his Thursday evenings in holding high converse . . . He could procure the murder of Abul Fazl and avow the fact without remorse, and also pity the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water . . . One good trait in Jahangir was his hearty enjoyment of nature and his love of flowers." A critical study of his career as a whole from his *Memoirs* and other original sources has revealed to the modern researchers that he was " a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and

15 Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 284—87; Rodgers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp 7—10.

emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But, as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and an open mind."[16] Francis Gladwin has also noted that " from the beginning to the end of his reign, Jahangir's disposition towards his subjects appears to have been invariably humane and considerate."[17] He removed the practice of levying transit duties[18] and tried to prohibit traffic in eunuchs which was specially prevalent in Sylhet and other parts of Bengal,[19] but not with complete success.[20] He was well-read, and studied poetry, history, geography and biography. He possessed aesthetic tastes and loved architecture and painting. But in spite of these qualities, he was given to intemperate drinking, which impaired his health greatly. His indolence and weakness formed the greatest failing in his character. Ultimately he lost all capacity for prompt and vigorous action and became a puppet in the hands of Nurjahan and her brother Asaf Khan.

The early pleasant dreams of Jahangir were distributed by the rebellion of his son Khusrav. Five months after his father's accession, Khusrav, whose relations with him were far from being cordial since the last days of Akbar, left Agra at the head of 350 horsemen on the pretence of visiting his grandfather's tomb. At Mathura, Husain Beg Badakhshani joined him with about 3,000 horsemen and on proceeding up to Panipath, he was joined by Abdur Rahim, the Diwan of Lahore who was like Husain Beg, coming to the Court. At Tarn Taran, he received blessings and some pecuniary help from the Sikh Guru, Arjun, the editor of the *Granth Sahib* (the Sikh scripture). From thence he marched towards Lahore, and laid siege to the city which was however protected by Dilwar Khan, who had reached there two days

16 Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 440.

17 *History of Jahangir*, by Francis Gladwin, edited by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M.A., p. 159.

18 Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 290.

19 Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 446; Francis Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 174.

20 *Ibid.*

before Khusrav. Very soon the Emperor himself reached tl place with a large force and defeated the rebels in a battle Bhairowal. Khusrav escaped with Abdur Rahim, Husa Beg, and their chief followers. At the advice of Husain Be Khusrav decided to proceed along with him to Kabu but they were captured by the imperialists while crossir the Chinab. Jahangir was bent on punishing his rebel so (forgetting that he had simply followed his father) and ordere his officers to bring him and his party to the *durbar*. Th prince appeared before his father chained and hand-cuffec trembling and weeping profusely, with Husain Beg on h right and Abdur Rahim on his left. All were moved at thi pathetic scene except the Emperor, who harshly reproache his son and orderd him to be thrown into prison. Ba barons and cruel punishments were inflicted on the prince' followers.[21] Guru Arjun's property including his hermitag was confiscated and he was sentenced to death. Again i August 1607, when Jahangir was returning to Lahore fron Kandahar and Kabul, he heard of a plot being formed, wit Khusrav as its centre, aiming to murder the Emperor and t place his son on the throne of Hindusthan. But the plot be came known to many people and when it reached the ear of Jahangir, he executed four of the ring-leaders, treatec others with leniency, while Khusrav was blinded at his order by Mahabat Khan. His sight was not however completely destroyed and later on when paternal love moved Jahangir he employed a physician of Persia, Hakim Sadra by name through whose treatment it was partially recovered.[22]

Jahangir's marriage with Nurjahan forms an important event in the history of his reign. The well-known fascinating account about her birth has been discarded by modern researches, which have revealed the truth about her early life. Among the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, Mutmad Khan,

21 "I gave Khusrav into custody and I ordered these two villains to be inclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and had to be placed on asses, face to the tail and so to be paraded round the city."—Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 300.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 448-49.

the author of *Ikbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*[23], states the plain facts in this matter. Her father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, was the son of Khwaja Muhammad Shariff, who was a native of Teheran and was the Wazir of the Tartar Sultan Beglar Begi of Khorasan. Being reduced to straits after the death of his father, Mirza Ghiyas Beg proceeded towards India with his children and his pregnant wife, under the protection of a wealthy merchant named Malik Masud. His wife gave birth to a daughter at Kandahar. Ghiyas Beg was introduced to Akbar and by dint of merit he rose to the high position of the Diwan of Kabul. His Indian-born daughter was named Mihirunnisa and on reaching the age of 17 she was married to Ali Quli Beg Istajlu, a Persian adventurer, who in the reign of Jahangir, received a suitable *mansab*, a *jagir* in Bengal and the title of Sher Afghan. It was afterwards reported to Jahangir that Sher Afghan " was in-subordinate and disposed to be rebellious." Jahangir asked Qutbuddin, the new Governor of Bengal, who was to him " in the place of a dear son, a kind brother, and a congenial friend," to chastise Sher Afghan. When Qutbuddin proceeded to arrest Sher Afghan at Burdwan, an affray occurred in the course of which he was killed. Sher Afghan was also killed by Qutbuddin's attendants, and his beautiful widow Mihirunnisa was brought to the court with her daughter, where she was placed in the custody of one of the dowager-queens Sultana Salima Begum. Four years after this " her appearance caught the King's far-seeing eye and so captivated him "[24] that he married her towards the close of May 1611. Jahangir conferred on his new consort the title of Nurmahal, ' Light of the Palace,' which was soon changed to ' Nurjahan,' ' Light of the World.'

The story that Jahangir was in love with Mihirunnisa since the time of Akbar[25] and that his infatuation for her was

23 Ellit, Vol. VI, pp. 402—5.

24 *Ibid.*

25 The Dutch traveller De Laet in his ' Description of India and Fragment of Indian History ' relates that Jahangir " had been in love with her when she was still a maiden, during the lifetime of Achabar (Akbar), but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Affegan (Sher

the cause of Sher Afghan's death, has been challenged by Dr. Beni Prasad in his able monograph on Jahangir.[26] The learned doctor bases his arguments on the silence of contemporary native historians and some European travellers. The story according to him was invented by later historians like Khafi Khan, Sujan Rai and others. But he has not explained why the beautiful widow of Sher Afghan was brought to court, when her father was holding an important position in the state[27] and why she was entrusted to the care of his partisan Salima Begum. A more recent writer has well remarked that "the circumstances of Sher Afghan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Emperor was guilty of the crime."[28]

Nurjahan possessed a superb beauty, a good knowledge of Persian literature and a refined taste for poetry and fine arts. She had " a piercing intellect, a versatile temper, sound common sense." She was physically strong, hard-working and watched every affair of the state with vigilance. Though interfering in politics, she was not entirely devoid of womanly kindness and tender feelings. She became the leading spirit in the administration and her husband was reduced to the position of a puppet in her hands. But her influence was not all for good. Her heart was full of inordinate ambition and her subtle machinations to preserve her own overbearing power gave birth to intrigues and rebellions, like those of Mahabat Khan and Prince Khurram.[29] Khurram's refusal to march for the recovery of Kandahar was due also to her notorious influence ; the prince did not want to remain for a long time away from the court ; as Dr. Beni Prasad has pointed out

Afghan) and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 177—84.

27 Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 404.

28 Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Muslim Rule*, p. 492.

29 " From 1622 till almost the end of his father's reign Shahjahan was under a cloud; the infatuated old emperor entirely dominated by his selfish and imperious consort Nurjahan, deprived Shahjahan of his posts and fiefs, and at last drove him into rebellion in self-defence."—Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 2.

" during his absence Nurjahan was sure to put her creature Shahriyar to the front and to undermine his own power by replacing his adherents with hers in high offices of State, by playing upon the feeling and fancies of her husband and by taking full advantage of any opportunities which might present themselves in the meanwhile."[30] Moreover it was under her influence that Jahangir's character and strength of will greatly deteriorated. " So long as Jahangir followed the dictates of his own judgment, by preferring to all other considerations the ease and prosperity of his subjects, and whilst he vigorously enforced the wise laws of his noble father, his reign was glorious and happy ; but when he embraced the soft allurements of pleasure and abandoned himself to indolence and dissipation, he became the dupe of an ambitious woman, who with a view of maintaining her own unlimited sway over the empire after his death, practised upon him the basest artifices"[31] Jahangir forgot all about the early beneficent measures and lost himself in pleasure. Nurjahan, he said, was wise enough to conduct the matters of state and he wanted a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry.[32] Her ambitious artifices sucked the life-blood of the state, for which the new fashions and tastes which she had introduced (and which have been supposed to have produced some economic prosperity) were but a poor recompense. It was therefore natural that during the latter part of Jahangir's rule, the Empire became the scene of conspiracies, rebellions and bloodshed,[33] and the administration became dull and inefficient.[34]

Khusrav's miserable life came to an end in 1622. According to the advice of Nurjahan, the hapless prince had been handed over to his deadly enemy Asaf Khan in 1616 and the latter again made him over to his rival Shahjahan (Khurram).

30 *History of Jahangir*, p. 349.

31 Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 159-60; Pelsaert, p. 50; Terry, p. 406.

32 *Iqbal*, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 405; *Hadi*, Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 398-99.

33 Gladwin, *History of Jahangir*, p. 160.

34 Pelsaert, p. 38.

Shahjahan took him to the Deccan, when he marched against Malik Ambar and had him murdered at Burhanpur in 1622. Shahjahan soon went into open rebellion against his father, but he was defeated by the imperialists at Bilochpur to the south of Delhi in 1623. Shahjahan tried to gain supporters in the Deccan and in Bengal, but he was ultimately forced to submit to his father (1625). He surrendered Rohtas and Asirgarh and sent his two sons, Dara and Aurangzeb, as hostages to the imperial court. He himself went away to Nasik with his wife (Mumtaz) and his youngest son Murad. The hostility of Nurjahan drove Mahabat Khan also into rebellion. By a bold *coup-de-main* he made the Emperor a captive with the help of his Rajput horsemen, when he was crossing the Jhelum with his retinue on his way to Kabul. Nurjahan tried her best to rescue her husband ; but all her plans being foiled, she joined her husband in captivity. However she finally succeeded in effecting her husband's escape by stratagem and Mahabat fled for life and subsequently joined the rebel Prince Khurram. But Nurjahan was not destined to maintain her influence any longer for the Emperor died on 28th October, 1627, whereupon Nurjahan met her match in her own brother Asaf Khan. Jahangir was buried in Shahdara near Lahore in the Dilkhusa garden of Nurjahan, where she afterwards erected a mausoleum.

Some sort of a struggle for succession was inevitable. Khusrav had already been done away with ; and the death of Parwez from the effects of excessive drinking in October 1626, had removed another rival from the path of Shahjahan just as the similar death of Daniyal had helped Jahangir. But there was still his younger brother Shahriyar, who had been married to the daughter of Nurjahan by her first husband Sher Afghan, and it was but natural that Nurjahan should try to perpetuate her influence by securing the throne for her son-in-law. At the time of Jahangir's death Shahjahan was far away in the Deccan, while Shahriyar was nearer the headquarters. The latter proceeded to Lahore, where with the help of Nurjahan he proclaimed himself Emperor and took possession of the royal treasure. But though Shahjahan was absent

from the headquarters, his cause was ably served by the skilful diplomacy of Asaf Khan, Nurjahan's brother, who was the father of his favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal. Soon after Jahangir's death, Asaf Khan had sent a courier with his signet-ring to inform Shahjahan of the event ; but before Shahjahan could arrive, he set Dawarbaksh, son of the unfortunate prince Khusrav, ' as a stop-gap Padshah.' He then marched to Lahore at the head of a large force and foiled all the plans of Shahriyar, a worthless prince, who earned the contemptuous nickname of *Na-shudhani* or ' good-for-nothing.' He was imprisoned and blinded. Shahjahan hurried from the Deccan and was solemnly crowned at Agra in February 1628, and assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib-i-qiran II, Shahjahan Badshah Ghazi. He took the precaution of killing all his possible rivals and in this matter, in words of Kennedy, he " copied to the full extent the custom of Constantinople." Such is the vanity of human ambition that though to secure his position, Shahjahan thus began his reign with murders. In the long run his own son deprived him of his throne : he was paid back in his own coin, and his pernicious example was too often followed by his descendants. But the beginning had been made by Jahangir, who had revolted against his father and maltreated his rival, his own son. In fact, fratricidal struggle for possessions was in the tradition of the Chaghtai race, illustrated from the days of Humayun in the stories of the Mughal succession wars. ' Princes are like crabs ' had remarked wise Kautilya nineteen centuries before these.

In return for his services, various honours were bestowed on Asaf Khan ; he was made the Wazir, given the title of Yamin-ud-dowlah and was elevated to the rank of 8,000 *Zat* and 8,000 *Sawar*. Mahabat Khan was appointed governor of Ajmere, created *Khan-i-Khanan* and *Sipah-salar* and finally enjoyed the rank of 9,000 *Zat* and *Sawar*. The city of Agra was renamed Akbarabad in honour of his grandfather. Nurjahan was granted a pension of two lakhs a year. Henceforth she retired from public life, wore only white robes and spent her days in sorrow at Lahore with her daughter, the

widow of Shahriyar. She died on 8th December, 1645, and was buried beside her husband.

As has been stated by Abdul Hamid Lahori, the chronicler of the reign, Shahjahan, soon after his accession, devoted himself to 'the strengthening of the foundation of the law of the Prophet,' which was in a state of decline. He was an orthodox Sunni and accordingly he abolished such forms and observances (introduced by Akbar) as were obnoxious to the orthodox. By the first imperial decree, the solar computation was abolished and all state matters were ordered to be recorded according to lunar years, preference being given to the Hijra Era. He had to deal with two rebellions at the beginning of his reign. Of these the first was started by the Bundela Chief Jujhar Singh, son of Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl ; but it was suppressed by the imperialists without much difficulty.[35] Jujhar subsequently rebelled once again but was killed by the Gonds in the eighth year of Shahjahan's reign. The second one, organised by Khan Jahan Lodi (son of Daulat Khan Lodi, one of Akbar's officers), an able general whom Jahangir had sent to fight in the Deccan, gave much more trouble than the Bundela rising. But it was put down after some time and the Afghan leader lost his life.

Conflicting opinions have been expressed by scholars about Shahjahan's character and policy. But it may be said at once that he was not essentially "cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous," as some European travellers like Roe and Terry (on whom Dr. V. A. Smith has mainly relied) thought him to have been.[36] There are certainly instances of cruelty committed by him, especially in the murders of his rival claimants which were perpetrated at his accession under his orders. He had been, no doubt, prompted to these bloody deeds by a desire for the security of his throne ; but when we take into consideration the situation in which he had been placed for several years before his accession owing to the baneful

35 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 14.

36 *Oxford History*, p. 32.

influence and intrigues of Nurjahan, " we lose," as Mr. Dow says, " half our rage in the pressure of circumstances that drove him to such a ghastly step." " He was not naturally cruel, and for these early crimes he made ample amends by the strict justice and clemency of his government and his solicitude for the well-being of his subjects."[37] Thus he did much to alleviate the sufferings of the people during the terrible famine of 1630—32,—though judged by modern standards his measures of relief appear inadequate, like those of the East India Company in the Great Famine of 1770.

He had an early education under such well-known teachers as Mulla Qasim Beg Tabrezi, Hakim Dawai, Shaikh Abdul Khair and Shaikh Sufi and he was devoted to bodily exercises and excursions befitting a prince of that age. He was not devoid of military qualities, though these were not of a very high order. He could speak Persian with fluency, and could converse in Hindi with those who did not know that language ; Ruqayya Begum, who had brought him up in his childhood, taught him to speak in Turki and to read Turki works. He took interest in calligraphy, poetry and music and was an ardent lover of art and beauty. Shahjahan was an affectionate father and a devoted husband. In 1612, at the age of 20, he married Mumtaz Mahal who was nearly of the same age as himself and remained deeply attached to her all through her lifetime though he had other earlier and later consorts and some children by them. The couple enjoyed an ideal and happy married life, rare in courts of that age, for nineteen years; and in weal or woe, throughout his chequered career, Shahjahan found in Mumtaz an unfailing friend and a prudent adviser. She must have been specially esteemed as the daughter of the powerful Asaf Khan. High honours and privileges which were conferred upon her by her husband did not tarnish the softer qualities of her heart as they did those of her aunt Nurjahan. Her kindness and generosity were extended to the poor and the distressed. But she was very

37 Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Muslim Rule*, p. 636; Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 266.

orthodox in her creed and partly influenced her husband in his persecution of the Christians and harsh behaviour towards the non-Sunnis and non-Muslims. She died after child-birth in 1631 at the early age of 39, and her husband tried to immortalise her name by building on her grave the magnificent Taj, which remains even today a brilliant monument of conjugal love and fidelity.

Though Shahjahan employed Hindus in high offices like his father and grandfather, yet he was driven by his bigoted Sunni instincts to deviate deliberately from the policy of religious toleration. Early in his reign 76 new temples were demolished in the district of Benares alone and it was under his orders that the temple of Orchha was razed to the ground by the imperial troops. As it has been related in the accounts of the English factors,[38] he had a hostile attitude towards Christianity. The Shias also did not escape from his wrath. He forbade intermarriages between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and ordered that Hindu husbands of Muslim women should embrace Islam. In fact, the reversion from Akbar's policy had its beginning in the reign of Jahangir with the murder of the Sikh Guru Arjun, which was a combination of policy and persecution ; Shahjahan with his intense zeal for the Sunni faith carried it further till it appeared in the reign. of his more fanatic son Aurangzeb with all the aggressiveness of medieval intolerance. 'Akbar had never allowed religion to get the better of his statesmanship and he had succeeded in consolidating the empire on the strong foundation of toleration, compromise and goodwill. But in the time of his successors religious bigotry in a steadily increasing degree outweighed political considerations and the policy of intolerance created forces which ultimately destroyed the political solidarity of the empire.' This change to a medieval attitude must be traced to the steady growth of Persian and Central Asiatic elements and influence in the services and at court from the beginning of the 17th century, which counteracted the Rajput and Hindu influence, stopped the modernism of the 16th century, and undid the work of Akbar.

[38] Foster, *The English Factories*, 1634—36, p. 241.

Shahjahan's illness in September 1657, was the signal for the outbreak of a terrible war of succession among his sons, which rendered his last days extremely unhappy. In this struggle were concerned four of his sons, Dara Shikoh (43), Shujah (41), Aurangzeb (39), Murad (33) and two daughters, Jahanara, who supported the cause of Dara Shikoh, and Raushanara, who took up the side of Aurangzeb. All the sons were past youth by that time and had acquired some experience in civil and military affairs as governors of provinces and commanders of armies. The eldest Dara Shikoh enjoyed the confidence of his father and was the heir-designate, according to Shahjahan's personal wishes. He was a man of eclectic views in religious matters, and studied the Talmud and the New Testament, the works of the Muslim Sufis, and the doctrines of the Hindu Vedanta. He produced a Persian version of the Atharvaveda and the Upanishads with the help of a batch of Brahmin scholars[39] and his aim was to find out a *modus vivendi* among the apparently rival forms of different religions. It was natural that because of his liberal tendencies and his want of sympathy with the orthodox views, Aurangzeb could combine against him the hatred of his coreligionists.[40] But he was no apostate from Islam. He never "discarded the essential dogmas of Islam ; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sufis, a recognised school of Islamic believers. If he

39 The following are some of the works of Dara Shikoh :—(1) *Sirr-ul-asrar*, a translation of the fifty *Upanishads*, (2) *Majmua-ul-Baharain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their Sufi synonyms, (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal*, (4) *Sakinat-ul-awliya* containing lives of Muslim saints, (6) *Risala-i-haqnuma*, published with an English translation : Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 271, footnote. Copies of some of these works are preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, and also in the house of a Kayastha gentleman in Patna City (Harmandil Lane).

40 In the manifesto in which Aurangzeb denounced Dara for heresy he pointed out the following faults of Dara :—(1) Conversing with Brahmans, *Yogis* and *Sannyasis*, considering them as spiritual guides, regarding the *Veda* as a divine book and studying it, (2) wearing rings and jewels on which was inscribed in Hindi letters the word '*Prabhu*' or Lord, (3) discarding the Ramzan and other ceremonies of Islam.—(*Ibid.*, p. 273.)

showed contempt for the external rites of religion, he only shared the standpoint of many noble thinkers of all Churches, such as John Milton."[41] But owing to the excessive love of his father and his constant attendance at his court, Dara Shikoh could not develop the qualities of a leader and soldier or the tact and judgment of a statesman. Moreover, the assured prospects of succession to the empire and the flattery which he therefore received from all, engendered in him a feeling of pride and made him impatient of others' advice. Thus in the ensuing succession war he proved himself an unequal and incapable rival against Aurangzeb, who was a practised veteran in the art of warfare and a consummate diplomat. Shujah, the second son, was then the Governor of Bengal. He was an intelligent man and a good soldier. But his excessive addiction to the pleasures of the harem and his 17 years' residence in the enervating climate of Bengal had made him " weak, indolent, and negligent, incapable of sustained effort, vigilant caution and profound combination." Murad, the youngest son, was the Governor of Gujrat. He was also a slave of his passions and was therefore incapable of exercising cool judgment in political matters. There were of course certain good traits in his character. He was frank and liberal and brave ; on the field of battle, he could fight regardless of life and risks. But he lacked the qualities of leadership and his own reckless valour was not of much use against well-organised troops placed under the guidance of far-sighted and able commanders. Aurangzeb, the third son, who had already distinguished himself by his operations in the Deccan and in the Frontier, was the ablest and the most intelligent of all. He combined in himself uncommon industry with great diplomatic and military skill. He was " a perfect master of the art of dissimulation " and never disclosed his intentions even to his most intimate friends when it was necessary to remain reserved. Being himself a zealous Muslim, he could easily rely on the support of the orthodox Sunnis in order to fight against Dara's liberalism. Each

41 *Ibid.*

of these differently-constituted princes coveted the throne of Delhi, and engaged in a deadly contest for its possession as soon as the old emperor fell ill. The quadrangular contest between Dara, Aurangzeb, Shuja and Murad, was really between Liberalism, Bigotry, Indulgence and Recklessness,—and it was decided in favour of a return to Medieval intolerance as the main principle of the Empire.

During Shahjahan's illness Dara remained with his father and transacted all public business in the emperor's name, showing " no indecent haste to seize the crown."[42] But he tried to strengthen his own position, after his father had declared him as his heir in the presence of some courtiers enjoying royal confidence and the chief officers of the state. Shahjahan's illness was severe and there was a suspicion in the minds of his three other sons as well as a popular rumour that the old emperor was really dead but that Dara had suppressed the news. This gave birth to confusion and disorder throughout the Empire[43] and the three other princes opened the fight for the throne.

Shujah proclaimed himself Emperor at Rajmahal and starting for Delhi at the head of a large army and a fleet of boats, reached Benares on 24th January, 1658. Murad also crowned himself at Ahmedabad (5th December, 1657) after murdering his Diwan Ali Naqi on a concocted charge of treason and plundering the city of Surat for money. He formed an alliance with Aurangzeb by agreeing with him to partition the Empire between themselves on the following terms :—"(1) one-third of the booty would belong to Murad Baksh and two-thirds to Aurangzeb, (2) after the conquest of the whole Empire, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sindh would belong to Murad, who would set up the standard of kingship there, issue coins, and proclaim his own name (*Khutba*) as

42 *Ibid.*, p. 280.

43 " Such is the course of autocracy : when the one central authority, from which all have been accustomed to receive their orders and to which they have ever taught themselves to look up for guidance, ceases to exist, all the officers become bewildered and helpless like children." —(*Ibid.*, p. 289.)

King."[44] The partition agreement was solemnised in the name of God and the Prophet. Dara tried to break up the alliance between the two brothers and sent orders to them in the name of his father recalling Mahabat Khan, Rao Chhatra Sal and Mir Jumla from the Deccan to Agra. The first two returned to Agra on the 20th December, 1657, while Aurangzeb prevented the return of Mir Jumla by arresting him and attaching his property. From the beginning of the next year he carried on his military preparations vigorously, conciliated the Kutb Shah of Golkunda and the Adil Shah of Bijapur, realised some money from the Deccani Sultans, and brought Mir Jumla's fine artillery, served by European gunners, to his use. From the very outset Aurangzeb had been following a " cautious and temporising policy " but Murad was eager to begin the contest without delay. Both the brothers therefore marched towards the North in February, and effected a junction in April in the environs of Dipalpur near Ujjain. The combined forces marched towards Ujjain and encamped (15th April) at the village of Dharmat on the western bank of the Gambhira (an affluent of the Chambal) prepared to fight the enemy. As we have seen, Shuja had already arrived near Benares. Dara had sent an army on 30th November, 1657, under his son Sulaiman Shikoh and Raja Jaisingh Kachhwa to fight against Shuja. This army encountered Shuja's force at Bahadurpur, five miles north-east of Benares on 14th February, 1658, and defeated it. Shuja left the field and hastily retreated towards Bengal. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Qasim Khan were sent to oppose the advance of Aurangzeb and Murad. The hostile armies met at Dharmat on 15th April, 1658, in a deadly contest, which resulted in the defeat of the imperialists. The defeat was " due to the evils of divided command," the jealousy between the Hindu and the Muslim soldiers, the intrigues of some of the imperial officers with Aurangzeb and the inferior generalship and tactics of Jaswant Singh as compared with those of Aurangzeb, who had " aged in war."[45] The Rajputs suffered heavy losses,

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 310.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

while Qasim Khan did practically nothing and only one Muhammadan general was killed on their side. Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur, where he found the castle-gates shut against him by his proud wife, who could not tolerate her husband's retreat from the field of battle and abandonment of his master's cause.[46] The victory at Dharmat placed at Aurangzeb's disposal immense treasure and war materials, and greatly added to his prestige. " Dharmat became the omen of his future success in the opinion of his followers and of the people at large throughout the empire . . . The hero of the Deccan wars and the victor of Dharmat faced the world not only without loss but with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India."[47] He marched towards Gwalior, and after crossing the Chambal reached the plain of Samugarh[48] near Agra.

Dara also prepared himself to meet Aurangzeb somewhat against the wishes of his father whose exodus to Delhi and the North for escaping the summer heat of Agra was now stopped. Dara appeared at the plain of Samugarh towards the close of May with a force of about 50,000 soldiers, " formidable in appearance noly " but " composed of a miscellaneous host of diverse classes and localities, hastily got together and not properly coordinated nor taught to act in concert." A hotly contested battle was fought on 29th May, 1658. Both the parties fought bravely, Prince Murad receiving three wounds in the face. But Aurangzeb with superior generalship and tactics concentrated on harassing Dara's troops, many of whom lay dead on the field. When Dara's own elephant became the mark of the enemy's rockets he got down from his elephant and mounted a horse (probably under some treacherous advice) " leaving his armour, weapons, and shoes behind " in the

46 She suffered much persecution later on at Aurangzeb's hands, after Jaswant's death, as is well-known.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 368.

48 Sir J. N. Sarkar has identified Samugarh as Samogar, a village eight miles east of Agra fort. (*Ibid.*, p. 375, footnote.) Bernier says that Samugarh is the same as Fatehabad. The author of the *Khulast-ut-Tawarikh* notes that Agra was twenty miles from the battlefield.

howdah.[49] At the sight of the empty *howdah*, his surviving soldiers concluded that their master had fallen. "At once the whole army broke up into small confused groups and fled from the field in the utmost disorder."[50] In great despair, Dara proceeded towards Agra with a few fatigued followers, and reached there at about 9 p.m. "in an unspeakably wretched condition."[51] Before pursuing Dara up to Agra itself, Aurangzeb took possession of his camp and guns. Dara's defeat was due largely to the tactical errors committed by his commanders and to the less mobile condition of his artillery, and it was not entirely caused, as some accounts represent, by the treachery of Kalilullah Khan, who commanded the right wing of Dara's army.

Thus the battle of Samugarh marks a turning-point in the history of the succession wars among the sons of Shahjahan. The defeat of Dara's large army and the death of many of his generals and followers irretrievably weakened his course, while Aurangzeb's strength and position were immensely improved. Soon after this victory the latter proceeded to Agra, where all the efforts of Shahjahan for a peaceful settlement with him failed and he took possession of the fort on the 8th June. The imperial troops defended the fort for some time with great bravery, but when the water supply from the Jumna was stopped, they found themselves unable to hold out any longer. Shahjahan was compelled to quench his thirst in that burning heat of June with brackish water from a few wells within the fort. He wrote a pathetic letter to Aurangzeb, which contained the following:—

"Praised be the Hindus in all cases
As they ever offer water to their dead
And thou, my son, art a marvellous Musalman
As thou causest me in life to lament for (lack of) water.

O prosperous son! be not proud of the good luck of this treacherous world. Scatter not the dust of negligence (of duty) and pride on the wise head; (know) that this perishable

49 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 399.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 400.
51 *Ibid.*, p. 401.

world is a narrow pass leading to the dark region, and the eternal prosperity comes only from remembering God and showing kindness to men."[51a] Aurangzeb placed the "King of Kings" (*Shahan-Shah*) Shahjahan under strict confinement. But there is a silver lining in every cloud of affliction, and the old and sick Emperor found a ray of consolation in his prison in the faithful service of his daughter Jahanara, who remained by his side. Jahanara's efforts to bring about a reconciliation failed. A secret letter written by Shahjahan to Dara asking him to "stay firmly at Delhi"[52] was betrayed into the hands of Aurangzeb by a slave named Nahir-dil, and this made Aurangzeb more suspicious about his father's intentions.

Aurangzeb now became the *de facto* sovereign of the kingdom. He held a grand darbar on the 10th June and received the submission of the imperial administrative staff. He then started from Agra towards Delhi on 13th June, but stopped on the way near Mathura on hearing that Murad had been seized with jealousy and alarm at the growing power of Aurangzeb and was trying "to act in opposition to Aurangzeb and to assert his own will,"[53] for which he had gathered an army of 20,000 men and was following him. Instead of meeting Murad in the open field, Aurangzeb tried to defeat him by cunning. He tricked Murad into a feast at Mathura, and so plied him with cordial professions and wines that his arrest was silently and speedily effected before he woke up to the situation or his followers got any scent of it. Murad was sent with his son to the state-prison at Gwalior, where after some fruitless attempts at escape, he was subjected to a trial for the murder of his Dewan Ali Naqi at the instigation of Aurangzeb, was found guilty by the Qazi and was sentenced to death; he was executed on 4th December, 1661. Thus Aurangzeb did not hesitate to clear his path to the throne at the cost of his brother's blood. After Murad's arrest Aurangzeb proceeded to Delhi where on 21st July, 1658, he crowned himself as Emperor and assumed the title of Alamgir

51a Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 420.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 424.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 429.

(' Conqueror of the World ') with the usual additions of Padishah and Ghazi (Emperor and Holy Warrior).

Being safe one one side by the removal of Murad, Aurangzeb proceeded to root out his other rivals in other directions. From Delhi Dara had fled towards the Punjab and had reached Lahore on the 3rd of July, 1658, where he was engaged in making preparations for meeting Aurangzeb once again on more equal terms. But Aurangzeb followed him there and drove Dara before him through Sindh into Gujrat, where he was favourably received by Shah Nawaz Khan, the newly-appointed governor of Ahmedabad, who helped him with men and money. The advance of Shuja from the east and Aurangzeb's absence in the Punjab on pursuit held out an opportunity to Dara to make " a dash on Agra from the West and release Shahjahan."[54] He made up his mind to strike another blow. He first thought of proceeding from Gujrat to the Deccan, and of setting up his authority there wtih the support of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutb Shahis of Golconda who were Shias and ill-disposed towards Aurangzeb. But promises of help from Raja Jaswant Singh drew him to Ajmere. Apart from his pro-Hindu policy and attitude, Dara had hoped that this alliance with a great Rajput prince would immensely strengthen his party, but Aurangzeb was also shrewd enough to realise that " in the impending conflict with Dara, Jaswant was the decisive factor as his adhesion would mean an addition of 20,000 of the hardiest warriors of India to the ranks of his ally, as well as unrivalled local influence in Rajputana."[55] So he cleverly won over the selfish Jaswant Singh to his side, while Dara on reaching Ajmere found himself in a critical situation. His appeal to the treacherous Jaswant's sense of honour and the sacredness of princely promises failed to dissuade him from Aurangzeb's side.[56] Dara had now no way left but to meet

54 *Ibid.*, p. 501.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 503.

56 In the course of the Succession Wars Jaswant's conduct was most disgraceful. He had as we have already seen once run away from the field of battle where he was himself the commander-in-chief; he had again

Aurangzeb single-handed, who had arrived near Ajmere. He decided to hold the narrow pass of Deorai, four miles south of Ajmere, and in the battle that ensued he tried hard to maintain his position, but was ultimately defeated by Aurangzeb's forces (March 1659).[57] In terror and bewilderment Dara again fled hurriedly with his family towards Gujrat, hotly pursued by Aurangzeb's troops under Jai Singh and Bahadur Khan.[58] Aurangzeb and Jai Singh had " sent off letters to the (local) princes and zamindars in every direction to bar Dara's path " and so the governor of Ahmedabad gave him no permission to enter the town. Thus deprived of his last hope of refuge, Dara became dumb-founded. Bernier (who was in his camp) remarks :—" We were all overwhelmed with confusion and dismay, gazing in speechless horror at each other, at a loss what plan to recommend and ignorant of the fate which perhaps awaited us from hour to hour . . . He (Dara) saw consternation depicted on every countenance, and felt assured that he would be left without a single follower." Driven from place to place, (Rajputana, Cutch and Sindh) but finding no shelter anywhere owing to the ceaseless opposition of Aurangzeb's adherents, Dara proceeded (in June 1659) towards Dadar (9 miles to the east of the Bolan Pass) in the hope of gaining the support of the Baluchi chief Malik Jiwan whom he had saved, a few years ago, from the penalty of death pronounced by Shahjahan. But on the way to Dadar, Dara was afflicted with a terrible misfortune, as his cousin and wife Nadira Banu, who had been her husband's faithful companion in weal or woe and all through his dreadful wanderings now passed away, worn out by prolonged miseries, from an attack of diarrhoea, which had been troubling her for a long time. Dara's bewilderment and mortification knew no bounds. " Mountain after mountain of trouble," remarks

treacherously fallen upon an unsuspecting friend, and now he broke his promise with an ally, whom he led into danger.

57 Not in April, as some authors write. *Vide* Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 510, footnote.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 517—24.

Khafi Khan,[59] " thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium." Instead of helping Dara's cause, the ungrateful Baluchi chief betrayed him (towards the end of June 1659) into the hands of Bahadur Khan and other imperialists, who had been sent in pursuit of Dara. The unfortunate prince with his second son and two daughters were brought as captives to Delhi on 23rd August, 1659. With chained legs and with tattered clothes on they were paraded in an uncovered *howdah* on the back of a ditry she-elephant through the streets of Delhi. There could be no greater humiliation than this to Dara, who had formerly entered the city with majestic processions and dressed in costly robes of state. The citizens were moved with pity at this miserable condition of Dara, and Bernier, who was an eye-witness of the scene, remarks, " The crowd assembled was immense; and everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language . . . From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, ... men, women and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves."[60] Not a single hand could be raised in his rescue, as he was strongly guarded by cavalry and archers. After this humiliating procession, Dara was " lodged in the Khawaspura mansion (in old Delhi) under a strong guard, to await his sentence."[61] Dara's fate was much debated in the Emperor's Hall of Private Audience. Danishmand Khan pleaded that his life might be spared ; but Shaista Khan, Bahadur Khan and others demanded his death for his alleged infidelity to Islam. His sister Raushanara also, strangely enough, clamoured for a capital punishment. Thus Aurangzeb, " both out of necessity to protect the Faith and Holy Law, and also for reasons of state," as the official history published under his authority records, decided to put an end to his life.[62] A formal verdict of " guilty " was secured from the Ulemas

59 Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 244.

60 Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 98—100.

61 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 544.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 545.

on the charge of his apostasy from Islam. Dara made a last appeal for pardon to Aurangzeb, but received the cold reply :— "You first acted as a usurper, and you were a mischief-maker."[63] A riot broke out in the streets of the capital aiming at the life of Malik Jiwan, the faithless host of Dara, who had been appointed a commander of 1,000 horse and had received the title of Bakhtiyar Khan, as the price of his treachery. But with the help of the city police Malik Jiwan's life was somehow saved and his disgrace only precipitated the end of Dara. Aurangzeb passed orders for his immediate execution and entrusted the task to Nazar Beg and some other slaves. In the same night (30th August, 1659) those brutal murderers snatched away Sipihr Shikoh from his father's embrace and after a violent struggle murdered Dara. The severed head was shown to Aurangzeb, who ordered the corpse to be paraded again through the streets of the city. It was then buried in the tomb of Humayun.

After the defeat of Dara at Samugarh, Shuja had made a fresh attempt to improve his position but his hopes were dashed to the ground by his defeat at Khajwah in the Fatehpur District on 5th January, 1659, by a superior force commanded in person by Aurangzeb. He was pursued from place to place by Mir Jumla and was driven out of Bengal to Dacca and thence to Arakan (May 1660) where he was probably slaughtered with his family by the Maghs[64] for his planning an outbreak against their king. Sulaiman Shikoh also met with a tragic end. After the battle of Dharmat, he hastily patched up a peace with Shuja and marched towards Delhi to help his father. At Korah he heard of his father's crushing defeat at Samugarh and received a letter from Shahjahan urging him to march hurriedly with his army to Delhi for helping his father. But his generals hesitated to follow him to Delhi and Raja Jai Singh "only refused to follow the losing side any longer." At the advice of the Sayyids of Barha (famous half a century afterwards), he proceeded to Allahabad and from thence to

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 606—12; *Khafi Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VII, 254.

Hardwar (June 1658) *via* Lucknow and Moradabad, with the object of helping his father in the Punjab. But being vigorously pursued by Shaista Khan, who at the same time blocked all his routes of escape he found his friends and followers deserting him day by day—till at last with his wife, a few other ladies, his foster-brother Muhammad Shah, and only seventeen followers, he found an asylum in the Garhwal hills. The Raja of Srinagar " was all kindness and attention to his princely guest in distress " and refused to surrender him into the hands of Aurangzeb though the latter tried persuasion, threats and diplomacy to secure the person of Sulaiman Shikoh. But his more worldly-minded son, Medini Singh yielded to Aurangzeb's efforts; Sulaiman tried to run away to Ladakh but was captured and delivered on 27th December, 1660, into the hands of Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, who brought him to the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi on 2nd January, 1661. The unfortunate prince was brought in chains before Aurangzeb in the Hall of Private Audience of the Delhi palace. He prayed to Aurangzeb that he would prefer immediate death to the customary slow poisoning by means of *pousta* drink. The latter " promised in a solemn manner and in a loud voice that this drink should not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy." But Aurangzeb's words were far from his intentions. He sent the captive prince to Gwalior (on 15th January) where this dreadful beverage was administered to him every morning until in May 1662 " he was sent to the next world through the exertions of his keepers."[65] Dara's younger son Sipihr Shikoh and Murad Baksh's son, Izid Baksh, were not regarded as serious rivals for the throne, and so were allowed to survive and be married subsequently to the third and the fifth daughters of Aurangzeb, respectively.

Shahjahan spent his last days as a prisoner, closely guarded in the fort of Agra, in misery and humiliation. Even the most common conveniences were denied to him; he was supplied with " shoes neither of eight rupees nor of four nor

[65] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 565.

of two, but the common leather shoes."[66] Aurangzeb sent letters to his imprisoned father wherein he defended himself by ascribing the fratricidal war not to his own ambition but to Shahjahan's partiality to Dara.[67] He held that he was compelled to join in it for defending himself and the interests of Islam, and that Shahjahan " as a wise man must submit to divine dispensation and accept Aurangzeb's triumph as the best thing that could have happened to him.[68] These reproaches greatly moved the fallen and old monarch ; he described his boastful son as a hypocrite and a robber of another man's property and prophesied a similar nemesis for him. But these strong words failed to produce any effect in the mind of Aurangzeb ; the old Emperor " at last bowed to the inevitable and, like a child that cries itself to sleep, he ceased to complain."[69] He now firmly resigned himself to the will of God, and in the midst of these dire calamities, he did not lose patience or thankfulness to Him. " Religion gave him solace " and he spent his last days in prayer and meditation in the company of pious souls and of his daughter Jahanara, a disciple of the saint Mian Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Kanauj, till his death (22nd January, 1666, at the age of 74) put an end to his miseries. Aurangzeb could not forgive his father even after death and denied his dead body a suitable funeral and burial in spite of Jahanara's efforts to take it in a grand procession to Delhi. Aurangzeb's treatment towards his father " outraged not only the moral sense but also the social decorum of the age "[70] and so " he came to be execrated by the public as a bold bad man without fear, without pity, without shame." But he attempted to win public respect by posing as the champion of Islamic orthodoxy, and succeeded partially.

After the occupation of Agra, Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 21st July, 1658, but as he was extremely busy at that

66 *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 77.
67 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 133.
68 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
69 *Ibid.*, p. 137.
70 *Ibid.*, p. 144.

time in fighting against his rivals, the formal coronation was delayed till 5th June, 1659, when after the victories of Khajwa and Deorai he found his position secure. The astrologers pronounced that date as auspicious and the coronation took place amidst great splendour and rejoicings. He received embassies from Persia (22nd May, 1661), Bokhara (17th November, 1661), Mecca, Abyssinia (1665) and Arabia that were " sent to congratulate him on his accession."[71]

Like the preceding rulers of his dynasty he began his reign by various ameliorative measures. The civil wars among the brothers and the consequent weakness of the authority had practically broken down the administration in many parts of the empire. The marches of armies and the ravages committed by the robbers had destroyed agriculture ; to add to this, owing to scanty rainfall for a few years after 1660, in some provinces " grain was selling at famine prices." Moreover, the people were groaning under oppressive taxes and heavy inland transit duties. Aurangzeb abolished the *rahdari*, that is, the toll of one-tenth of the value of the goods levied on the passing merchandise on every highway, frontier or ferry, which gave a large income to the state. He also abolished the *pandari*, which was a kind of ground or house cess, collected throughout the empire, from all traders (from the butcher and the potter to the jeweller and the banker), and which also brought lacs of revenues to the state.[72] Sir J. N. Sarkar notes that a revenue officer's guide-book written about the 33rd year of Aurangzeb's reign mentions a large number of cesses being abolished by Aurangzeb.[73] Khafi khan writes that about eighty cesses were abolished by the Emperor, though he mentions only fourteen by name. In order to bring down the prices of food articles, he also remitted the tax on corn. He issued strist orders to " enforce these remissions " but Khafi Khan admits that " with the exception of the *pandari*, mostly obtained from the capital and the chief cities that felt the force

71 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 41.

72 *Khafi Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 247.

73 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 80.

of the abolition, the royal prohibition had no effect, and *faujdars* and *jagirdars* in remote places did not withhold their hands from these exactions."[74]

Aurangzeb had secured the throne by standing forth as the champion of orthodox Islam against the 'heretical' views and practices of Dara Shikoh. He now tried to prove his zeal for the cause of Islam by issuing certain ordinances for "bringing the lives of the people into closer accord with the teaching of the Quran." He forbade the use of the *Kalma* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins to prevent these sacred words being defiled by the touch or reading of non-Muslims and abolished the *Nauroz* ceremony which had been copied by his predecessors from the Shiah Kings of Persia. He appointed *muhtasibs* or Censors of Morals for the strict enforcement of the laws of Islam and for bringing the people under their influence.

Aurangzeb's character and policy have been sometimes the subject of more severe criticism than they really deserve. He was not the only Mughal ruler who rebelled against his father or ascended the throne through the blood of his relatives. In this matter, he was merely following an example, which had been already set by Shahjahan and Jahangir and even by earlier princes of the Chaghtai or other dynasties. He was not alone responsible for the succession war ; it would have broken out at any rate, for none of the brothers was disposed to acquiesce in the sovereignty of the other or to make a peaceful partition of the empire among themselves. As we have seen, Shahjahan's illness prompted Dara to take all kinds of precautionary measures to safeguard his succession to the throne, and each of the three others also proclaimed himself independent on receiving the very news of it. Only their efforts were frustrated, while those of Aurangzeb were crowned with success because of his superior diplomacy, tact and generalship. His treatment of his old father is, of course, indefensible; but he was not at least a royal parricide of which there are many instances in Indian or other histories.

74 *Ibid.*

As compared with his rivals or with the other rulers of his dynasty, he possessed certain great qualities. He was endowed with an unusual courage, of which he had given ample proofs in many arduous campaigns. " Indeed he regarded danger as only the legitimate risk of greatness."[75] He was a past-master of diplomacy and statecraft, and could baffle any intrigues. Apart from this, he was a well-read and accurate scholar, and retained his love for study till his death. He spent his leisure hours in studying Islamic theology, Arabic jurisprudence and Persian literature, and searched for and collected rare old manuscripts. *The Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, which has been regarded as "the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India," was prepared under his patronage. He was an expert calligraphist and could write easily both in *Shikasta* and in *Nastaliq*. He possessed an indefatigable industry and intense passion for work and a wonderful memory. Besides regularly discharging the ordinary routine duties, he personally read all petitions and issued orders on them with his own hand. The Italian physician Gemeli-Careri, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb, thus speaks of him: " I admired to see him endorse the petitions (of those who had business) with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful, smiling countenance seem to be extremely pleased with the employment."[76] He was simple in his dress, food and recreations and comparatively pure in private morality. He seldom allowed himself to be carried away by lust and passions and " the number of his wives fell short even of the Quranic allowance of four,"[77] a commendable restraint in a medieval Emperor, though it fell short of the level of Khusrav and Dara. He was an ardent lover of Islamic laws and was very particular about their observance in all judicial proceedings. In short, he was ' puritanic ' in temperament and tastes. In religion he had the zeal of a Puritan, and he was very particular in observing the injunctions of the Holy Quran, such

75 *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 61.

76 Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 477.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 476. But two of his three concubines known to history, Hira Bai and Udaipuri Bai, swept him off his balance.

as prayer, fast, *Hajj*, *Zakoh* and *Tauhid* (faith in God). Nothing could lead him astray from his duties as laid down in the Quranic law and he wanted others also to follow the same. He was described as " a living saint "(*Alamgir Zinda Pir*) by flatterers.[78] There is no reason to disbelieve the sincerity of his religious convictions. Dr. Smith has rightly observed: " Although his religion did not hinder him from committing actions in the field of statecraft which are repugnant to the moral sense of mankind, his creed, as a creed, was held in all sincerity, and he did his best to live up to it."[79] During the Balkh campaign, he got down from his horse to finish his prayers at the appointed time, though the fighting was going on all around him. But his extreme puritanism and austerity made his heart barren of affections and other tender qualities. He abhorred (not however in early life) art, music, dance and even poetry, and was suspicious of his sons, daughters and other relatives. He " utterly lacked sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means, which atone for a hundred faults of the head."[80] Thus religious orthodoxy being combined with narrow-mindedness made him highly uncompromising and his iron heart did not waver in the least when he took recourse to treachery and finesse for realising his end.

As a ruler Aurangzeb was a colossal failure. Diplomacy and industry of a ruler cannot alone support a government for a long time. The ruler and the ruled must be bound together by a tie of sincerity and love, especially when one has to rule over a country inhabited by people of diverse races and creeds. Moreover to keep the entire body-politic unimpaired, its parts must be allowed to have full vigour and activity. But Aurangzeb's bigotry and intolerance offended the feelings of the different sections of the people except those of his Sunni followers and thus sapped the very foundation on which Akbar had tried to build his empire. As Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks:

78 *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 62.

79 *Oxford History*, p. 437.

80 *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 63.

" he was the worst ruler imaginable of an empire composed of many creeds and races, of diverse interests and ways of life and thought."[81] His excessive distrust of officers and constant interference in the business of the different departments kept the local officers in a state of tutelage and destroyed their initiative, efficiency and vitality. But " there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great people and that no people can be great unless learns to form a compact nation wih equal rights and opportunities like all."[81a] Again the prolonged wars of his reign drained the resources of the empire and ruined the productive activities and prosperity of many of its provinces. In fact the Mughal Empire was already dead before Aurangzeb closed his eyes, and only the carcase remained to be finally torn up and dissolved under his feeble successors. Khafi Khan thus sums up his merits and demerits from the point of view of orthodox Sunnis: " Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur, nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one, since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long-suffering and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence of the injunction of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a counry cannot be maintained. Dissensions had risen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good ; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object."[82]

Aurangzeb began his reign with high hopes and vigour but he could not foresee that sweeping and rapid changes were sure to appear in the train of new political developments, some of which he himself created. During his long reign, the territorial extent of the empire grew, and he arrayed all the available resources of the empire and of his mind against those adverse political forces ; but in the end he found to his great disappointment, that he had exhausted himself and his empire

81 *Ibid.*

81a Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 495.

82 Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 386-87.

in vain without any permanent achievement or profit. The long and expensive wars in the Deccan demoralised the army, drained the resources of the state and weakened the administrative organisations, so that the people suffered under a recrudescence of the medieval feudal abuses like the oppressions of the nobles, the *faujdars,* and the governors. Before his eyes he saw his sons repeating the family example of rebellion against the reigning father and the fear of a nemesis overtaking him haunted his mind. His attempts to save the empire by advice to his sons and by partition-wills ended in smoke. The revived Hindu powers like the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats tried to 'feed fat their ancient grudge' and made another bid for Hindu supremacy. Conscious of his failure and of his approaching end, Aurangzeb wrote to his son Azam: "I came alone and am going alone. I have not done well to the country and the people, and of the future there is no hope." To another son he wrote: "I carry away the burden of my sins and am concerned on account of my misdeeds. Come what may, I am launching my boat." In despair and agony, he hummed the pathetic verses:

"By the time you have reached your 80th or 90th year,
You will have felt many hard blows from your Fate;
And when you reach the stage of a hundred years,
Death will put on the form of your life."[82a]

Broken in body and heart, he passed away from this world on the 3rd March, 1707, yet like a true Muslim, "with the Muslim confession of faith on his lips."

SECTION II

MUGHAL IMPERIALISM AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

After restoring the rule of his dynasty, Akbar set himself to the task of extending the limits of his kingdom by conquering different parts of India. He was a man of strong imperial instincts and continued his policy of conquest and expansion

82a Sarkar's *Aurangzeb,* Vol. V, p. 18.

until January 1601, when the mighty fortress of Asirgarh in Khandesh fell into his hands. Akbar's imperialism had none of the redeeming features of the ancient Mauryan, Achamenian or Persian, and Hellenic or Macedonian imperialism ; unlike them, it did not usher in great world-forces or bring with it peculiar contributions to civilization ; it was nothing more than an adventurer's attempt to bring as great a part of India as possible under his control by sheer force of arms; Akbar had to fight on to save his and his predecessor's gains of adventure; and in this process he built up an empire, as each success whetted on his ambition. "A monarch," Akbar held, "should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him."[83] The sequel of this fighting policy was of course good, as the political unification of the whole of Northern and Central India under his sceptre, after the weak rule of the successors of Sher Shah made for progress in different spheres ; but there is no reason to dispute that this unification was the result of downright aggressions and annexations carried out for forty years incessantly.[84]

In 1564 Akbar sent Asaf Khan (I), Governor of Karah and the eastern provinces, to conquer the kingdom of Garah Katanga (Gondwana), equivalent roughly to the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The country was then ably governed by Rani Durgavati, a Rajput lady of great valour, abilities, and personal charm, for her minor son. The queen-mother made a gallant defence but was defeated in a fight between Garah and Mandla (now in the Jubbulpore district). In the true spirit of a Rajput lady, she preferred death to disgrace and killed herself, so that "her end was as noble and devoted as her life had been useful."[85] The young ruler, Bir Narayan, performed the rite of *Jauhar* and courted death on the field of battle after a chivalrous attempt to defeat the honour of his family. The kingdom was held for some time by Asaf Khan but was ultimately transferred to the Emperor.

83 *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 399.

84 Cf. the similar aggressive reign of Harshavardhana.

85 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 71.

This conquest was followed by three rebellions, the first led by Abdulla the Uzbeg, the second by Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan and the third by Akbar's own brother Mirza Hakim, who was encouraged by the Uzbeg revolts to invade the Punjab. These rebellions were suppressed with some difficulty.

Akbar next turned his attention to the formidable Rajput state of Mewar, which had contested the supremacy with Babar thirty years ago. It had not acknowledged his authority and had offended him by giving protection to Baz Bahadur, the fugitive king of Malwa and by helping the Mirzas. In September 1567, Akbar started for Chitor, the 'key of Rajputana,' and on 20th October formed his camp near the fort. Rana Udai Singh who had recently become the ruler of Mewar, was however not in a mood to continue the tradition of Sangram Singh; he "had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting material virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all." He made no attempt to defend the fort but fled to the hills, according to some authors with the advice of his chiefs,[86] leaving his kingdom to its fate. But this unworthy conduct of the Rana was not copied by all his followers, and the fort was so bravely defended by Jaimal and Putta that at the beginning of the siege the imperialists seemed to have no chances of success, and Akbar himself narrowly escaped death on more than one occasion. But the two gallant leaders were accidentally killed in action, and their loss created a confusion among the defenders. The women saved their honour by performing the rite of *jauhar* and the whole body of the regular Rajput garrison perished fighting to a man. Thus after gallantly standing a siege lasting from 20th October, 1567, to 23rd February, 1568, Chitor fell into the hands of Akbar, who entered the city and ordered a general massacre. According to Abul Fazl, 30,000 persons were slain, but this seems to be an exaggerated account. The massacre itself is an instance of the conqueror's vindictiveness against those who resisted his

[86] Gaurisankar Ojha, *Rajputana ka Itihas* (Hindi), Part II, pp. 724-25.

arms. It should however be noted that Rajput chivalry had struck Akbar so much that on reaching Agra he had statues of Jaimal and Putta erected at the gateway of his fort.

The fall of Chitor excited awe in the minds of other Rajput chiefs, who had so far defied the authority of Akbar. In February 1569, Akbar appeared with a large army before Ranthambhor, the stronghold of the Hara section of the Chauhan clan in Rajputana, and invested the fort. The Chief of Ranthambhor, Surjana Hara, found himself unable to cope with the immensely superior military strength of the Mughals and readily tendered his submission to Akbar and surrendered to him the keys of the fortress. Ranthambhor was included within the imperial territory ; Surjana Hara was made a *qiladar* at Garhkantak and was afterwards appointed Governor of the Benares province including the fortress of Chunar. The strong fortress of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand, then held by Raja Ramchand of Bhatha or Riwa, was besieged under Akbar's commands by Manjnu Khan Qaqshal with a large army. The Raja sought safety by surrendering the fort to the besieger. Manjnu Khan Qaqshal remained in charge of the fort and the Raja was given a *jagir* near Allahabad. The possession of the great fortress of Kalinjar, which had defied Afghan military strength under Sher Shah, greatly improved Akbar's military position, and it marks an important step in the growth of Mughal imperialism.

One by one the Rajput chiefs acknowledged the authority of Akbar but Mewar did not bow down before the Mughal storm and continued to fight alone the battle of Rajput independence against its growing strength. Cowardly though he was, Rana Udai Singh refused to secure himself by submission and matrimonial alliances and retained his independence in spite of the loss of his ancestral capital. After his death his country found a true patriot and leader in his son Rana Pratap, the only heroic Hindu who kept on struggling to restore the political independence of his motherland against the consolidated Mughal authority towards the latter part of the sixteenth century. " Pratap succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without

resources, his kindred and clans dispirited by reverses ; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated on the recovery of Chitor, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power." His mission was indeed a noble one but his path was beset with difficulties ; and he undertook a formidable task, for he had to encounter the organised strength of Akbar, who was at that time " immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth ;"[87] moreover the latter succeeded in arraying against Pratap " his kindred in faith as well as blood,"—the princes of Marwar, Ambar, Bikaner, Bundi, and even his own brother Sagarji, who was rewarded by Akbar for his treachery with the old capital of his race. Under Akbar the Rajput chiefs indeed gained many political privileges, but they became forgetful of the glorious ideals of their predecessors and lost their national character, so that they did not hesitate to try to bring Pratap down to their own level. But the latter was made of a different stuff ; " the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, ' to make his mother's milk resplendent ' and he amply redeemed his pledge." He organised his government, " adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources," framed new regulations for strengthening his army and strengthened fortresses like Kumbhalmir and Gogunda.

But an imperialist like Akbar could hardly be expected to tolerate these sentiments of the national hero of Rajputana, and it is but natural that the Mughal courtier Abul Fazl should fail to appreciate his noble attempt and should speak of his " arrogance, presumption, disobedience, deceit and dissimulation." Dr. Smith has nicely summarised the *causus belli* in the following words : " His (Rana Pratap's) patriotism was his offence. Akbar had won over most of the Rajput chieftains by his astute policy and could not endure the independent attitude assumed by the Rana who must be broken if he would not bend like his fellows."[88]

87 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 148.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

An imperial force under Man Singh and Asaf Khan was sent in April 1576, in order to chastise the Rana. The Rana also came forward to meet his opponents and a furious battle was fought at the pass of Haldighat near the town of Gogunda. A detailed description of this battle is found in the History of Badaoni, who took part in the " holy war against the infidels " as a follower of Asaf Khan II in order to satisfy his religious orthodoxy. In the first attack made by the Rana, the vanguard of the Mughal troops " became hopelessly mixed up together and sustained a complete defeat." There was a great confusion and Badaoni asked Asaf Khan as to how they could distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs, whereupon the latter replied, " on whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam."[89] But the Rana was at last defeated, though his life was saved by the selfless services of one of his followers, the Chief of Jhalla, who drew upon himself the attack of his master's assailants by declaring himself to be the Rana. The Rana mounted on his beloved horse ' Chaitak ' and retired into the hills, and all his strongholds were lost one by one. The bigoted Badaoni proceeded to convey the happy news to Akbar. But the Rana could not think of submission even in the midst of dire adversity. Throneless and homeless, hunted from rock to rock, " feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills," the Rana continued the fight with undaunted spirit and gradually recovered all Mewar except Chitor, Ajmer, and Mandalgarh, before his death in 1597. He could not forget his motherland even in his last moments, and expressed an anxiety for its welfare in the future,—for he had no faith in his son ; and before he breathed his last, he satisfied his soul by exacting from his chiefs " a pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turks."[90] " Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory," says Tod, " is even now idolized by every Sisodia." " Had Mewar," he adds,

89 Asaf Khan II, whose personal name was Khwajah Ghias-ud-din of Kazwin and who had received the title three years before the battle of Haldighat should not be confounded with Asaf Khan I, the Conqueror of Gondwana.

90 The so-called Mughals, the Chaghtais, were Turks.

" possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the 'Ten Thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that sincerity which 'keeps honour bright,' perseverance,—with fidelity such as no nation can boast of, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind." Pratap is undoubtedly a great figure in Indian history; the annals of the Rajputs record the names of abler generals and more far-sighted statesmen than Pratap but not of a more sincere patriot than him.

Amar Singh succeeded his father in 1597 and tried during the first few years after his accession to redeem the pledge he had made before his father. He " remodelled the institutions of his country, made a new assessment of the lands and distribution of the fiefs apportioning the service to the times. He also established the gradation of ranks such as yet exists, and regulated the sumptuary laws even to the tie of a turban, and many of these are to be seen engraved on pillars of stone in various parts of the country." But his peace activities were disturbed when in 1599 Akbar sent an army under Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. Amar Singh offered a gallant resistance but was ultimately defeated and the imperialists devastated the whole country. The operations were, however, abruptly stopped as Man Singh was urgently called away by Akbar in order to suppress the rebellion of Usman Khan in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion against Mewar but could not carry it into effect on account of illness. It was left for Jahangir to take up the work of his father.

After the annexation of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar, the Mughal arms were directed against the rich and fertile province of Gujrat. With flourishing harbours on its coasts, Gujrat possessed an important commercial position, and the possession of this province had been, therefore, coveted by the Muslim rulers of Hindusthan since the days of Mahmud of

Ghazni, and of Western Asia in the days of the early Caliphates (when Gujrat ports were raided, or the Valabhi capital was sacked).[91] Humayun had taken possession of it only to lose it after a short period because of his own indolence and lethargy. The province was at that time in an unsettled state "divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal king, Muzaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy exercised little authority."[92] This order of things could not but excite the imperial ambitions of Akbar, and the special economic and strategic advantages of the country made its occupation very attractive, and even necessary for safeguarding the commercial and political interests of the empire on the western coast and the Peninsula. His intervention had apart from these considerations, some justification, as it had been actually invited by a local chief named Itimad Khan. In 1572 Akbar led an expedition in person against Gujrat, in the course of which he found the fugitive king hiding himself in a corn field, took pity on him and pensioned him off with a paltry allowance. The other chiefs of Gujrat made their submission, and Akbar appointed Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka as the Governor of Ahmadabad, when he heard that Ibrahim Mirza had killed a noble who wished to pay respects to Akbar. The latter started forthwith to punish the rebellious Mirza and by dint of his personal courage and prowess and with the help of his Rajput chiefs, defeated him at Sarnal (about five miles to the east of Khaira). He then besieged Surat, which surrendered after a month and a half (26th February, 1573). On this occasion Akbar came in touch with the Portuguese, who, realising the impossibility of resisting the imperial arms, entered into friendly terms with him.

But as soon as Akbar had reached his headquarters at Sikri, fresh troubles arose in Gujrat created by some of his own rebellious cousins known as the Mirzas and by a noble named Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. This highly incensed Akbar, who

91 The same persistent push towards Malwa and Gujrat is to be noted for the imperial histories of the Hindu period as well.

92 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 10.

marched with an efficient army to Ahmadabad, at ' hurricane speed ' traversing about six hundred miles in eleven days. He gained a decisive victory over the insurgents in a battle near Ahmadabad on 2nd September, 1573. He commemorated his victory by constructing a pyramid of about 2,000 heads of his victims in the battle.[93] Akbar's authority was thus fully established in Gujrat, which became an integral part of the empire. Raja Todar Mal was entrusted with the task of setting in order the finances of the province and its revenues which had not been properly collected for a long time. Within six month he effected a land-survey and settled the land revenue in such a way that the province yielded henceforth more than five millions of rupees to the imperial treasury. His work was continued by another expert officer named Shitab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who remained in charge of the province from 1577 to 1583 or 1584.

" The conquest of Gujrat," remarks Dr. Smith, " marks an important epoch in Akbar's history. The annexation gave his government free access to the sea with all the rich commerce passing through Surat, and the other western ports. The territory and income of the state were vastly extended, so that the viceroyalty of Gujrat became one of the most important posts in the gift of the sovereign. Akbar now first saw the sea and came into direct contact with the Portuguese, thus opening up relations which seriously affected the history of India, and introduced new influences operating upon his mind. The province became the practising ground for Raja Todar Mall, the able financier, who made his first revenue ' settlement ' on improved principles in Gujrat."[94] It was now open to the Mughals to try to build up a sea-power by emulating the Portuguese in the West coast, and thus to recapture the control of the oversea trade that Indians had lost to Arabs and then to Europeans during the previous Muhammadan period. But though Akbar appears to have had certain ideas on this matter, he could not do much beyond providing

93 *Tabakat*, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 368.

94 *Oxford History*, p. 352.

an outlet for the trade of the empire and controlling and defending the ports with a rudimentary navy. Seaward the Mughals never went, after him, with the result that European nations got the line clear before them.

The conquest of Gujrat was followed by that of Bengal. This province was held by the Afghan chiefs in the time of Sher Shah. The Sur Kings established their independence during the stormy reign of Muhammad Adil and ruled the province till 1564, when taking advantage of the disorder following the murder of the reigning young king, Sulaiman Kararani (Governor of South Bihar) established his authority over Bengal also. Sulaiman was wise enough to recognise formally the suzerainty of the new Mughal Emperor and maintained friendly relations with him. He removed his capital from Gaur to Tanda and conquered the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. After his death in 1572, he was " much regretted by his subjects, and highly respected by all his contemporaries."[95] But his son Daud, who has been described by the author of the *Tabakat* as a " dissolute scamp who knew nothing of the art of government,"[96] " forsook the prudent measures of his father,"[97] declared himself independent, and unwisely drew upon himself the resentment of the Emperor by attacking the fort of Zamania on the eastern frontier of the empire (in the Ghazipur District of U.P.). It was too much for a ruler like Akbar to put up with the presumption of this young prince, and he sent Munim Khan, an old and experienced general, at the head of a large army to chastise him. Instead of pushing on vigorously against Daud, Munim Khan made peace with him on very lenient terms. This was highly displeasing to Akbar, who pressed the old general for renewing the campaign against Daud vigorously. But Munim Khan found himself unable to execute his master's commission and requested the Emperor to march in person in charge of the campaign. Akbar quickly proceeded to the field of action

95 Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 751.

96 Elliot, Vol. V, p. 373.

97 Stewart, *loc. cit.*

and drove Daud from Patna and Hajipur during the rainy season of 1574. He appointed Munim Khan Governor of Bengal, and leaving the Bengal campaign in charge of his generals, himself returned to Fatehpur Sikri. Daud retreated towards Orissa and was severely defeated in a battle (3rd March, 1575) near the village of Tukaroi in the Balasore District. But this battle did not prove decisive owing again to the leniency of Munim Khan, who granted liberal terms to Daud, which enabled the latter to make another attempt for the recovery of Bengal after the former's death in October 1575. Akbar sent another expedition against Daud, which resulted in his final defeat and death in a battle near Rajmahal in July 1576, his best general being seriously wounded on the field. Bengal henceforth became a part of the empire. But it again became the scene of rebellions owing to the heedless policy of the imperial governor Muzaffar Khan Turhati, who was a "man harsh in his measures and offensive in his speech." Some of the powerful Bengal Zamindars known as the '*Bar Bhuiyas*' also long opposed the authority of the Emperor.[98] The most important of them were Isa Khan of East Central Dacca and Mymensingh, Kedar Rai of Vikrampur, Kandarpa-narayana Chandradvipa (Bakla) and Pratapaditya of Jessore. Orissa was finally conquered by Raja Man Singh in 1592.

The Bengal rebellions gradually lost their force ; but before they could be completely crushed, Akbar was confronted with a more serious danger originating in the attempt of his half-brother Muhammad Hakim, who was practically the independent ruler of Kabul, to contest with him the sovereignty of Hindusthan. "The year 1581," writes Dr. Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[99] In the course of that year Mirza Muhammad Hakim entered into conspiracies with "the rebels of the

[98] J.A.S.B., 1874, pp. 194—214; 1875, pp. 181—83; 1904, pp. 57—63; 1913, pp. 437—49; and Mr. Bhattashali's articles on 'The Bengal Chief's Struggle for Independence.'

[99] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 190.

eastern provinces" and with some disaffected court-officials of Akbar to effect to his cherished design. The leader of the conspiracy in the court was Khwaja Mansur, the Diwan of the Empire, and all the conspirators were actuated by motives of personal gain as well as by a desire to place on the throne the orthodox Muslim Mirza Muhammad Hakim in place of Akbar whom they regarded as a heretic. But they were supporting a bad cause ; they failed to see that Hakim was " a drunken sot, cowardly and irresolute, incapable of governing the empire acquired and consolidated by the genius of Akbar."[100] Hakim's attempts were doomed to failure as he was " wholly incapable of meeting his brother either in statecraft or in the field."[101]

In December 1580, an officer of Hakim named Nuruddin led an invasion into the Punjab which was easily repulsed. Shadman conducted a second invasion but was also driven back and killed by Raja Man Singh. Three letters from Mirza Hakim, one of which was written to Khwaja Mansur, were at this time found in the baggage of Shadman and these were forwarded by Raja Man Singh to Akbar, who did not disclose their contents. Hakim then personally invaded the Punjab but finding the local chiefs unwilling to join his side, he hastily retired to his own principality.

Akbar who had been all along unwilling to enter into a war with his brother was now convinced of the necessity of defending his position by force and therefore reluctantly decided to march against him. For this purpose he collected a force of about 50,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and a large number of infantry and started for Kabul on 8th February, 1581. To prevent conspiracy he took with him Khwaja Mansur and his two sons, Salim and Murad, also accompanied him. When the Emperor reached Panipat, Malik Sani, Diwan of Mirza Hakim, came to the imperial camp, where he remained with Khwaja Mansur, and through him offered his own services to the Emperor against his lord. At this Akbar's suspicions against Khwaja Mansur increased and the seizure of

100 *Ibid.*
101 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

another set of letters removed his doubt about his treachery. Without further enquiry Akbar passed orders for his death and he was hanged (27th February, 1581) on a tree near Shahabad.

The execution of Khwaja Mansur has given rise to some controversy among the writers. According to Father Monserrate (Jesuit tutor to Murad), who accompanied Akbar in that campaign, Khwaja Mansur thus " paid the just penalty for his perfidy and treason," while others have denounced his execution as a " judicial murder " or a " foul murder." Relying on the evidence of Father Monserrate, Dr. Smith believes in the genuineness of the first batch of letters and so convicts Shah Mansur of treachery. As regards the last batch of letters, he regards them as forgeries on the authority of Nizamuddin, who as an eye-witness writes: " When the Emperor was waited upon at Kabul by the confidential servants of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, he made enquiry into the case of Khwaja Shah Mansur and it appeared that Karmulla, brother of Shahbaz, had colluded with others to concoct letters, and that he had forged the last letter on the evidence of which Khawaja Mansur was executed. After this was discovered, the Emperor often regretted the execution of the Khwaja." But it should be noted that in forming his judgment about the Khwaja Mansur's complicity in the first batch of letters Dr. Smith did not consult the testimony of Abul Fazl, who without any reason for being partially inclined towards Shah Mansur, states that Akbar regarded them as forgeries. Thus Dr. Smith's opinion is not based on a critical examination of all the available sources and it is very difficult to accept it in the face of contrary evidences supplied by two contemporary writers like Nizamuddin and Abul Fazl. Mr. Kennedy notes: " Some time afterwards Akbar found out that the whole affair had been a plot and that the letters were forgeries."[102] The letters were most probably forged by the minister's enemies who did not like his strict enforcement of financial measures. Akbar ought to have scrutinised into the letters, which he could not probably do in his anxiety to get rid of his brother's plots

102 *History of the Great Moghuls*, p. 272.

and invasions. He repented afterwards when the secret was out.

After this execution Akbar crossed the Indus with the whole army and entered Afghanistan. Mirza Hakim was defeated and left Kabul. But he was soon restored by Akbar to his kingdom on promising to remain faithful to the Emperor. Akbar returned to his capital in December 1581, when all his dangers were over. "The success of Kabul expedition gave him an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career. His power was now established so firmly that he was able to take extraordinary liberties with his people and to defy criticism with absolute impunity."[103] Kabul was formally incorporated in the empire of Delhi after Hakim's death shortly afterwards in 1584.

After suppressing the Uzbegs and the Yusufazais, two frontier tribes, Akbar sent Raja Bhagwan Das and Kasim Khan at the head of 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. Yusuf, the King of Kashmir, and his son Yaqub were defeated and compelled to give way. Kashmir was then definitely annexed to the empire as a *Sarkar* to the Subah of Kabul in 1586. Yusuf and his son were sent as prisoners to Bihar, where they were placed in the charge of Raja Man Singh. Sindh was annexed in 1590-91. Baluchistan with the coast of Makran was conquered in 1595, and in the same year Kandahar was surrendered to the Emperor by its Persian Governor Muzaffar Husain Mirza, who was involved in struggles with his relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs. Persia could not however forget that the Mughals restored with Persian help had snatched away a Persian possession, and Kandahar remained a bone of contention for long. Thus by the year 1596 Akbar found himself in undisputed possession of every part of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Narbada besides the adjacent territories of Makran, Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul.

Akbar now proceeded to extend his control over the Sultanates of the Deccan[104] by demanding from them a formal

103 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 202.

104 For details *vide* the Section on 'The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

acknowledgement of his suzerainty. All the states except Khandesh evaded compliance with his demands. He therefore decided to bring them down by force. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar fell after the death of Chand Sultana in 1600. When the Sultan of Khandesh attempted to throw off the imperial yoke, Akbar marched forth in person in 1599 and occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh. Finally, the capture of Asirgarh, which " was one of the strongest fortresses in the world at that date," in 1601, marked the climax of imperial expansion. After this Akbar passed the next few years in comparative dullness and in the midst of various personal troubles, till death carried him away in 1605.

Conquest and annexations cannot always completely destroy long-standing tendencies towards disruption by local revolts and disorder ; discontents smoulder in some form or other and these break out into open rebellions as imperialism even slightly loses its strength. The annexation of Bengal by Akbar could not crush the Afghan menace altogeher or stop the ravages of the Maghs in Eastern Bengal. In 1599 the absence of Akbar and Raja Man Singh from Bengal on the Deccan expedition gave an opportunity to the Afghans in Bengal to raise the standard of rebellion under the leadership of Usman Khan. Raja Man Singh hurried back to the East and defeated the rebels, was succeeded in 1606 by Qutbuddin, on whose death in the following year Jahangir Quli Khan, an old man, stepped into his place but succumbed soon after assuming the onerous office. " The frequent change in the personnel of government was hardly favourable to the pursuit of energetic measures for the restoration of order "[105] and, taking advantage of this, the Afghans and the Bengal Zamindars again rallied under the banner of Usman Khan, in the time of the next governor Islam Khan, to try their strength with the imperial forces. Islam Khan was however a capable man and he first of all transferred the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca (which henceforth came to be known as Jahangirnagar) in order to deal effectively both with the rebellious

105 Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 209.

Afghans as well as the Maghs. He made Shujaat Khan, a descendant of Shaikh Salim Chishti, the Commander-in-Chief of the forces collected for the suppression of Usman Khan. The imperialists and the Afghans met on 12th March, 1612, and after a hotly-contested battle raging the whole day, the Afghans were defeated and their leader Usman died at midnight from the effects of a fatal wound on the head. The death of the leader threw the Afghans into confusion, and, considering themselves unable to offer any resistance to the newly reinforced imperial forces, they at last surrendered. Jahangir received the news of this victory on 1st April, 1612, and bestowed suitable rewards on the officers who had contributed to this. The political power of the Afghans, who had been so long hostile to the Mughal rule, was completely broken, and Jahangir by his conciliatory policy turned them from foes into friends of the empire. The author of *Makhzan-i-Afghana* remarks: "Nuruddin Ghazi (Jahangir) pardoning them their former trespasses, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty; and paid so much attention to them that they abolished all further treasonable designs from their mind, and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him, even to the sacrifice of life . . ."[106] The Magh menace in Eastern Bengal could not be suppressed, and it continued to threaten the life and property of the people till late in the eighteenth century.

The reign of Jahangir also witnessed the "reduction and conciliation of Mewar, the sole remnant of Rajput independence." Soon after his accession, Jahangir revived the Rajput policy of his father and sent a large force against Mewar under the nominal command of Prince Parwez, who was to be assisted by well-tried and veteran military officers like Asaf Khan, Jaffar Beg, and others. The Rajputs also decided to fulfil "the dying behest of their late glorious head (Rana Pratap)" by accepting the challenge of the Turks. The first campaign was an indecisive one and was followed by the conclusion of a truce near Mandalgarh. In 1608 Jahangir sent another large

106 Dorn's Translation, Part I, p. 184.

force under Mahabat Khan who by pressing the campaign with vigour and energy inflicted a defeat on the Rajputs. In the following year Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdulla Khan, who harassed the Rajputs in various ways, but he was soon transferred to Gujrat and frequent change of commanders (as in the case of Bengal) led to no tangible result. In 1614 the Emperor entrusted the command of the Mewar expedition to Prince Khurram. Being ably supported by Abdulla Khan and other Deccan officers, the prince conducted the campaign vigorously and reduced Rana Amar Singh to great straits. Amar lacked the spirit of Pratap, who had stood patiently in the face of the most dreadful adversity in pursuing his aims. But a few reverses damped Amar Singh's courage and energy. Moreover his country had been suffering greatly from the effects of more than half a century's warfare ; peace and security had disappeared ; foodstuff had become scarce ; famine and pestilence added to the miseries of war. There was a demand for peace from different quarters, even from his own son Prince Karan. All these led Rana Amar Singh to send his maternal uncle Shubh Karan and his faithful officer Hari Das Jala to Prince Khurram to settle terms of peace. He agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor and to send his son to the imperial court, but he proposed to be excused from personally attending it and also from giving any daughter of his family to the Mughal harem. Jahangir gladly accepted the terms and a treaty was accordingly concluded. Chitor was restored to the Rana on condition that he would never fortify or repair it. He was also required to supply a contingent of 1,000 horse and Prince Karan received the dignity of a ' Commander of 5,000.'

Thus Mughal imperialism achieved a fresh and an important triumph in Northern India by the treaty with Mewar that had defied all the attempts of Akbar. Jahangir himself remarked : " The real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his fathers, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the Kings of Hindusthan; this should be brought about in my reign." The last independent remnant of the renaissant Rajput confederacy,

which had opposed the establishment of Mughal rule in India since the advent of Babar, and the other members of which had been won over by the genius of Akbar, was subdued in this way in the reign of Jahangir. He had therefore good reasons for gratification. The Emperor and the Rana met each other when they exchanged greetings and presents. The Rana's son Prince Karan also visited Prince Khurram and was " awarded a superb-dress of honour, a jewelled sword and dagger, a horse with gold saddle and a special elephant."' Subsequently life-size marble statues of Amar and Karan were placed near the *Jharoka* at Agra. These were but poor compensations for the loss which Mewar had sustained. But the Emperor's treatment of the Rana was wise and conciliatory and henceforth Mewar remained loyal to the Mughal crown till Aurangzeb's fanatic policy drove Rana Raj Singh into open rebellion.

Jahangir followed in part his father's policy of aggression in the Deccan[108] and directed campaigns under the command of able generals against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. But these were not so successful owing to the noble efforts of Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, who was also probably in collusion with the Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim. At length in 1616 Jahangir sent Prince Khurram to the Deccan and the latter succeeded in securing the formal surrender of the fort of Ahmadnagar after the conclusion of a treaty between Adil Shah and himself ; he was now rewarded with the title of ' Shah Jahan.' The last important military exploit of Jahangir's reign was the conquest (16th November, 1620) of the famous fortress of Kangra in the hills of the north-eastern Punjab which had never before come under Muslim sway. His visit to the conquered fort was marked by a politic gratification of orthodox Muslim sentiment by erection of a mosque and cow-slaughter within the precincts of the temple-fort. But in June 1622, Kandahar was lost to the empire being forcibly retaken by Shah Abbas, the King of Persia,

107 Details have been given in the Section on ' The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

when he found persuasion and diplomacy failed to induce a voluntary surrender. Jahangir wanted ' Shah ' to lead a great army to recover Kandahar, but he refused to leave for the Persian frontier and thus to risk his succession, the emperor being then in bad health.

Shahjahan's reign forms on the whole a bright chapter in the history of Mughal expansion. At the beginning of his reign he was faced with the rebellions of the Bundelas and the Afghans but these were suppressed without great difficulty. In his first year the Bundelas revolted under the leadership of Jujhar Singh, the son of Bir Singh Deva, the murderer of Abul Fazl. Abdul Hamid Lahori writes that " the wealth and property which Bir Singh had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jujhar, and at the accession of Shahjahan . . . he left the capital Agra and proceeded to Undcha (Orchha), his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads." Shahjahan quickly sent three imperial armies from three directions to put down the rebels. Mahabat Khan Khan-i-Khanan proceeded from the capital at the head of 10.000 horse, 2,000 musketeers and 500 sappers, and he was helped by Sayyid Muzaffar Khan of Barha, Raja Ram Das of Gwalior and Habir Khan Sur. Khan Jahan marched from Malwa *via* Chanderi, with 8,000 horse, 2,000 musketeers and 500 sappers. Firuz Jung, the fief-holder of Kanauj, started with 7,000 horse, 2,000 musketeers and 500 sappers from the east. In the face of these large converging imperial forces totalling 25,000 horse, 6,000 musketeers and 1,500 sappers, Jujhar Singh could hardly win any success. He submitted after some desperate attempts and the Emperor permitted him the possession of as much *jagir* as was necessary for his maintaining the rank of 4,000 *zat* and 4,000 *sawar*. But the Bundela Chief revolted once again in 1635; he was again defeated and being hotly pursued by the imperial troops was at last killed by the Gonds.

In the second year of the reign the traditional hostility of the Afghans broke out once again into open rebellion. An

Afghan noble named Khan Jahan Lodi, who had served in the Deccan in the time of Jahangir, formed an alliance with the Sultan of Ahmadnagar for defying the imperial authority. The Emperor sent against him his Hindu and Muslim generals who drove him from place to place and defeated him in several engagements till he lost his life with many of his followers at Tal Sehonda, north of Kalinjar.

The wrath of the Emperor next fell upon the Portuguese at Hugli. The Portuguese had settled in Bengal about 1579 and gradually extended their power and strengthened their position by erecting round about Hugli a number of substantial buildings which were fortified by them with cannon, muskets and other fighting materials. They had ceased to be merely peaceful traders and were committing various acts which excited the Emperor's resentment. Their officers levied heavy customs duties, especially on tobacco which had by that time become an important article of trade, to the great prejudice of the revenues of the state. Besides this, they engaged in the abominable and cruel practice of slave trade, for which they seized many orphan children, whom they converted into Christianity. The fanatical Jesuit priests forcibly imposed their beliefs on the Indians in other parts as well and very often interfered with the native government. They were audacious enough to capture two slave girls belonging to Mumtaz Mahal. The Portuguese danger did not fail to attract the attention of Shahjahan eevn before his accession, and soon after he came to the throne, he appointed Qasim Khan as the Governor of Bengal (1631) with orders to drive out the Portuguese. The imperialists first attacked the Portuguese and the siege of their Hugli fort which begun on 24th June, 1632, lasted for three months and a half. The Portuguese were at length defeated ; many of them rushed into the river to return no more and the rest were made captives. They incurred considerable losses. According to the *Padshahnamah* : " From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water or burnt by fire ;" on the Mughal side about one thousand

lives were lost. About 4,000 Portuguese were taken as prisoners to Agra where they were offered the choice between embracing of Islam and servitude. Those who prized life above faith accepted Islam while many underwent cruel hardship and " so it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell." Those who survived his persecution were allowed to reoccupy their settlement at Hugli, which did not however regain its former prosperity. There is no doubt that the Portuguese deserved punishment for their nefarious activities. But Shahjahan was prompted by his religious orthodoxy to inflict rather harsh punishments on them. For the interests of the empire strict but at the same time more tolerant and wise measures would have sufficed. Shahjahan, the orthodox Muslim Emperor, wanted to exterminate the Portuguese more for their efforts in propagating Christianity than for anything else ; and here one fanaticism met another, with the result that the stronger assumed a vindictive attitude towards the weaker and took to extreme measures for suppressing those whom it believed to be heretics. At any rate, the chastisement of the Portuguese satisfied both Shahjahan's religious zeal and his imperial vanity.

The little success that Shahjahan had achieved in the Deccan in the time of his father was short-lived, and soon after his accession he thought of indefinitely bringing the Deccan Sultanates under his control.[108] The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was finally conquered in 1633 and the Nizamshahi dynasty came to an end,—though Shahji (the father of Shivaji the Great) made an unsuccessful attempt to revive it. The Kings of Bijapur and Golkonda were also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor. But his ambitious projects in the North-West Frontier and in Central Asia were attended with disastrous results, both immediate and ultimate, and did not add in the least to the territories and prestige of the Mughal Empire.

108 *Vide* the Section on " The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire."

In the reign of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire reached the height of territorial expansion. The conquests made in the previous reigns remained intact (except those beyond the frontier, like Kandahar, Balkh, Badakshan, etc.) and before the Marathas could carve out a kingdom in the south (1660—74), his " ambitious and enterprising officers tried to extend their master's dominion."[109] Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, conquered Palamau in 1661. Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, directed his army towards the eastern frontier of the empire, which had been extended by the conquest of Koch Hajo, embracing the present districts of Kamrupa and Goalpara, up to the Bar Nadi river, in 1612.[110] This brought the Mughal Empire into conflict with the Ahoms, who had migrated from their original home in Upper Burma in the thirteenth century, and had gradually been extending their conquests towards the west during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, " till by the end of the sixteenth century their dominion stretched up to the Bar Nadi river in the north-west and the Kalang river in the south-west."[111] Here they came under Hindu influence and were Hinduised by the end of the same century. After the annexation of Koch Hajo, the Mughals entered into war with the Ahoms, but a peace was concluded in 1638. This peace lasted for twenty-one years ; but taking advantage of the war of succession and the fall of Shuja, the Ahoms occupied Gauhati in 1658 and seized 140 horses, 40 pieces of cannon and 200 matchlocks, besides much other property there.[112] So in 1661, Mir Jumla fitted out the expedition against Assam in order to " punish the lawless Zamindars of the province especially those of Assam and Magh (Arracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Muslims."[113] On 1st November, he started from Dacca with a vast fleet of armed boats and with an army of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot, and proceeding by " an obscure and neglected highway " he

109 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 42.
110 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 149.
111 *Ibid.*, p. 154.
112 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.
113 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 156.

conquered both Kuch Bihar and Assam. Then fighting against " all opposition of Nature and man " he marched forward and reached Garhgoan, the capital of Assam, on the 17th March, 1662. At first he met with no resistance from the Ahoms, who were frightened at the sight of the Mughal army, but the latter soon regained confidence and began an offensive. Heavy downpours of rain from May to October and the consequent hardship of campaign and the lack of provisions and transport caused great distress to Mir Jumla's army. This emboldened the Ahoms to cut off Mir Jumla's communications with the Mughal fleet and to push the contest vigorously against the Mughals, so that the Ahom King soon recovered all the country east of Lakhau. To add to the sufferings of the Mughals, they fell victims to a terrible epidemic, which broke out in August and carried away many among them. But undaunted by these reverses, the Mughal viceroy continued his operations and harassed the Ahoms in various ways after the rains had ceased. Finding that further resistance would be of no avail, the Ahoms sued for peace and a treaty was accordingly concluded betwen them and the Mughals. The Ahom King Jayadhwaja promised to pay a heavy war indemnity and an annual tribute and the Mughals were to get more than half of the province of Darrang.[114] Thus "judged as a military exploit, Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam was a success." But the invaders suffered greatly from the evil effects of the unhealthy climate of the place and from other hardships, and broken in health, Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca on 31st March, 1663. The successes of the Mughals on this frontier were short-lived. After a few years the Ahoms renewed the war and recovered Kamarupa. " A long course of desultory fighting followed, the general result of which was the success of the Ahoms."[115]

After Mir Jumla's death Aurangzeb's maternal uncle Shaista Khan (son of Asaf Khan) was appointed as the Governor of Bengal. He drove away the Portuguese pirates,

114 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

115 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

who " used constantly to come by the water-routes and plunder Bengal " from the delta of the Brahmaputra, and conquered Chatgaon (Chittagong) after defeating the King of Arracan in 1666, and annexed the islands of Sandip at the head of the Bay of Bengal. The ruler of Greater Tibet was compelled (1665) to acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor and to " submit to Islam."[116]

SECTION III

MUGHAL NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND CENTRAL ASIATIC POLICY

The North-west Frontier has presented a complex problem to every Indian government, past or present, and some part or other of it has been a storm-centre in every period. Bounded on the north and east by hills, on the south by a dreary desert and on the west by a hot and barren plain extending far into Persia, the province of Kandahar itself " is an open and well-watered district penned within hills and deserts."[117] It occupies a positon of great stategic importance. The heights of the Hindu Kush, which separate Central Asia from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India, become much less forbidding in the north of Herat, and an invading army from Persia or Central Asia may easily attack India through this region. " The master of Kabul must hold Kandahar and Herat or his dominion is unsafe. In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire, Kandahar was our indispensable first line of defence."[118]

Besides this, Kandahar was also an important centre of trade from time immemorial. The Portuguese domination over the Indian Ocean and their disputes with Persia made the overland Indo-Persian trade-route more frequented, and thus increased the commercial importance of this place in the seventeenth century. The merchants from Persia and India, Turkey and Central Asia assembled here for exchanging their commodities and all merchandise from distant parts of India

116 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 42.
117 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 112.
118 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

and even the Spice Islands were carried by the Multan-Chotiali-Pishin route to Kandahar. During the early years of the seenteenh century about 14,000 laden camels passed annually from India *via* Kandahar into Persia.

In the sixteenth century two new empires (of the Safavis in Persia and of the Mughals in India) sprang up side by side, and the rulers of both coveted the possession of Kandahar for obvious reasons. In 1522 Babar conquered Kandahar from the Arghun family, and thus made safe his possession of Kabul and his subsequent conquests in India ; and after his death it passed as an appanage to his second son Kamran. Humayun secured the help of the King of Persia by promising to hand over Kandahar to him, but did not keep his promise. It was therefore conquered in 1558 by the Persian King, who gave it to the charge of his nephew Sultan Husain Mirza.

It was Akbar, a true imperialist, who again realised the necessity of guarding the North-West Frontier for the safety of his empire in Hindusthan. The frontier hill tribes, such as the Uzbegs and the Yusufzais, were " very dangerous in their native hills being democratic to a degree and fanatically attached to their liberty. Fighting in the fastnesses of their country which afford the best of natural defences, they have ever resisted any attempts to bring them into subjection to any of the adjoining monarchies."[119] They were not in the least friendly to the Mughal Empire and their suppression was absolutely necessary for the safety of Kabul, the " invaluable western outpost." As we have seen Kabul was formally annexed to the empire after the death of Mirza Hakim in 1585 and was then handed over to the charge of Raja Man Singh. Akbar succeeded in checking the unruly spirit of the Uzbegs (whose leader Abdulla had become very powerful), and defeated the Roshniyas,[120] their leader Jalal (son of Bayazid)

119 Kennedy, *History of the Great Mughals*, p. 27.

120 The Roshniyas were the followers of Bayazid, a religious fanatic, who " had been preaching a special form of Muhammadanism in which communism on the one hand and the destruction of the enemies of Islam on the other, seem to have been two of the leading features. Added to this, his suggestion that he was the Mehdi (the Messiah) to come and

being killed at Ghazni towards the close of 1600. Zani Khan and Raja Birbal were sent for suppressing the Yusufzais, but the "generals themselves were at loggerheads with each other, they had no common plan of action, and the result was that the army got into a state of absolute confusion." This gave an opportunity to the Afghans, who attacked the Mughals at a disadvantage with stones and arrows, and killed 8,000 among them including Raja Birbal. Akbar was greatly mortified on hearing of this catastrophe and for two days he did not see anybody or eat anything. Raja Todar Mal and Prince Murad were however sent at the head of a large army to chastise the Afghans. Todar Mal inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels, and, as Abul Fazl writes: "A large number were killed and many were sold into Turan and Persia. The countries of Sawad (Swat), Bijapur and Buxar which have few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food were cleansed of the evil-doers."[121]

Kandahar at this time became subject to frequent incursions of the Uzbegs. Finding himself unable to maintain his position, Mirza Muzaffar Husain, son and successor of Sultan Husain Mirza, surrendered it to Akbar in 1594. The suppression of the Afghan borderers and the unexpected occupation of Kandahar struck terror into the heart of the Uzbeg leader, Abdulla. Apprehending an alliance between Akbar and Shah Abbas of Persia against himself, he gave up his hostile activities and henceforth remained friendly to the Mughal Empire. Thus Akbar's policy in the North-West brought territorial gains to the empire, secured its position in that important frontier and added to its prestige. He often avowed his intention of winning back the Timuride heritage of Trans-Oxiana but did not take the actual step of crossing the Hindu Kush, prudently satisfying himself with the advantages gained in Afghanistan.

we have all the elements of religious explosion." (*Ibid.*) The rise of the Roshniyas at the same time as Akbar was developing a cosmopolitan attitude and state-policy, is very significant.

121 These Mughal reverses and successes in Afghan land read very much like the Afghan wars of the British period.

But the Persians remained jealous of the Mughal occupation of Kandahar and waited for an opportunity to strike a blow for its recovery. The death of Akbar and the disorder in the country due to the rebellion of Khusrav " put an edge on their design " and they decided to re-conquer Kandahar. Persia was at this time ruled by Shah Abbas (1587—1629), one of the greatest Asiatic rulers in his time. " Far in advance of his times in ideas, he was remarkable for breadth and sanity of outlook, an eye for opportunity, and resolute promptness to make the best of it."[122] Encouraged and directed by him, a disorderly body of Persians attacked Kandahar in 1606, but it was bravely opposed and repelled by the Mughal commandant Shah Beg Khan. Early in February 1607, Jahangir sent a relieving force under Mirza Ghazi, son of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, the Governor of Thatta. The Persians thereupon raised the siege and retreated hurriedly. Shah Abbas tried to cover his designs by professing friendliness to the Mughal Emperor and by disapproving the conduct of his frontier officers. Unwilling to carry on further hostilities, Jahangir also " professed to be satisfied with these explanations but he posted a strong garrison of 15,000 horse in Candahar under the command of Mirza Ghazi."[123]

Shah Abbas was not a man to give up his designs. Failing to secure his object by arms he now took recourse to diplomacy and tried to win the confidence of Jahangir by sending four embassies with rich presents and warm compliments to him, who in turn exchanged these with the Persian Emperor. Thus, " deceived by gifts and professions, the Mughals neglected the defence of Kandahar."[124] Taking advantage of this, Shah Abbas made an attempt at Kandahar and besieged the fort in 1622. Jahangir and Nurjahan, who were then in Kashmir, left the place immediately and tried hard to collect a large army to relieve Kandahar. But the grand preparations of the Emperor could not be utilised in its defence, as Shahjahan, who had consolidated his hold on the

122 Dr. Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 159.
123 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
124 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

Deccan as its governor, refused to accompany the expedition before the rains were over, and unless he was placed in full command over the army with complete authority over the Punjab, and also unless the fort of Ranthambhor was given to him for the safe residence of his family while he was away at the frontier. Shahjahan's unwillingness was due to his suspicion that during his absence at Kandahar, the recovery of which " was sure to prove a long and difficult affair," Nurjahan would apply all her energies to prejudice his interests and to destroy his claims to the throne for safeguarding the position of her favourite Shahriyar. He wanted full control over the army and the Punjab because he rightly thought that without unity of command and a suitable base of operations in the rear the expulsion of the Persians would not be an easy matter, and that with these two in his hands he might frustrate the plans of Nurjahan, with the help of the Governor of Kabul, who was all along hostile to her.

But Shahjahan's proposal could never be accepted so long as Nurjahan ruled the court ; she took hold of this opportunity to poison Jahangir's mind against him by interpreting his conditions as signs of premeditated treason. She succeeded in securing the northern *jagirs* of Shahjahan and the *fief* of Dholpur, which had been long coveted by him, for her son-in-law Shahriyar. The latter was raised to the rank of 12,000 *zat* and 8,000 *sawar* and was given the command of the Kandahar expedition. Shahjahan's solicitations to his father could not move him, as Nurjahan's intrigues had definitely alienated his sympathies.

Internal dissensions like these always help the external foe. Shahriyar's appointment as the commander of the Kandahar expedition was an unfortunate incident, and the 'Nurjahan junta,' by demoralising the political atmosphere at the Mughal court, affected the efficiency of the operations for the relief of Kandahar, which fell into the hands of the Persians after a siege lasting for forty-five days. The Persian king soon sent a letter to Jahangir affirming therein the rightful claim of his family to Kandahar and professing friendship at the same time. Jahangir's feelings were highly exasperat-

ed against the Shah and he decided to pay him back for his treachery by sending another expedition. But he could hardly hope to extinguish one fire at a distance when his own weakness and the evil influence of Nurjahan had kindled another at home. Just at this time, Shahjahan raised the standard of rebellion, and the suppression of it diverted the attention and efforts of Jahangir from the Kandahar expedition.

As an emperor, Shahjahan entertained ambitious schemes of expansion towards the North-West. He tried to seduce Ali Mardan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, through Said Khan, his own Governor of Kabul, so that he might hand over Kandahar Fort to him. But Ali Mardan proved stern, whereupon Shahjahan made ready an expedition to Kandahar. Ali Mardan also commenced preparations for defence and requested his master, the Shah of Persia, to send him further reinforcements. But the latter misunderstood his intentions and suspecting selfish design on the part of his governor, he tried even to arrest him. This was an unwise step on the Shah's part, and it only served to estrange the loyalty of his governor, who now opened correspondence with Said Khan for surrendering the fortress to the Mughals, who thereupon easily took possession of Kandahar (1639). Ali Mardan entered the Mughal imperial service and received high honour and office and also a reward of one lakh of rupees. He was ultimately raised to the rank of 7,000 *zat* and 7,000 *sawar* and received the governorship of the Punjab and Kashmir. Shahjahan " spent immense sums in strengthening the defences and replenishing the stores and arsenals of Kandahar and its dependencies, Bist and Zamin Dawar."[125]

To the north of Kabul lay the provinces of Balkh and Badakshan, hemmed in between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus. They were subject to frequent incursions of the Mongols, Uzbegs and other Turkish races from beyond the Oxus throughout the middle ages. Encouraged by the success at Kandahar and prompted by a desire to regain Samarkand, which

125 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 116.

had once been the capital of the earlier Timurids, Shahjahan decided on the conquest of Balkh and Badakshan, dependencies of the kingdom of Bokhara that had then poor resources for defence. The court historian Abdul Hamid correctly noted the motive for this push into the lands beyond the Hindu Kush: "because they were the heritage of Babar and also lay in the way to Samarkand, the capital of Timur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty."

Shahjahan got an opportunity for giving effect to his 'long-cherished scheme' on the outbreak of a civil war in the ruling family of the Oxus region. After the retirement of Imam Quli Khan, who had governed Bokhara for thirty-two years, his younger brother Nazar Muhammad got the throne (1642). But the latter proved himself an unsuccessful ruler. "His extreme avarice and niggardliness alienated his generals," who became mutinous and proclaimed his son Abdul Aziz to be the king (17th April, 1645). Nazar Muhammad tried to pacify his rebellious son by giving him Trans-Oxiana and keeping Balkh and Badakshan for himself. But the Mughals had already invaded Badakshan.

This Central Asiatic adventure of Shahjahan was nothing but an ambitious dream. The invasion of such a distant and inhospitable region, "which could supply no rich booty, no fertile fief, and no decent houses to live in,"[126] had little attraction for the Indian army and no prospect of gains for the empire either. The mobilisation of sufficient numbers of troops through the lofty Hindukush was itself a risky enterprise and the success of the invasion was highly doubtful. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that "the prosperity of his (Shahjahan's) reign and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head, and that he was dreaming the vainest of vain dreams."[127]

126 *Ibid.*, p. 81. In ancient times (e.g., 600 B.C.—700 A.D.) this region was a very rich and inviting one; but the charms that tempted Greeks and Indians to settle there had disappeared during the middle ages owing to repeated barbarian invasions and occupations.

127 *Ibid.*

In 1646 Prince Murad and Ali Mardan marched in the company of some of the best generals of the empire at the head of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot and occupied Balkh and Badakshan. But Murad and most of his officers became sick of the uncongenial climate of Balkh and returned to Hindusthan against the will of the Emperor. The wazir, Sadullah Khan, immediately proceeded to Balkh, stationed the imperial troops at important centres under different generals and returned to Kabul after 22 days. Murad " was disgraced, deprived of his rank and government, and forbidden the court."[128] Next year (1647) the Emperor made preparations for another campaign for extending his conquests. Shujah and Aurangzeb were summoned from their provinces, large sums of money were sent to Afghanistan and troops were kept in readiness at important centres from Peshawar to Kabul. Aurangzeb reached Kabul on the 3rd April, 1647, and started four days later for the seat of war. But he was handicapped from the beginning as he had to fight with only 25,000 men against about 100,000 of the Uzbegs. Moreover, the latter did not engage in open fight, " but their ' Cossack tactics ' wore out the Mughals, and their superioriy in numbers enabled them to bear easily a loss ten times as large as the casualties of the invaders."[129]

In spite of these odds, Aurangzeb did not forsake his resolve. In the first encounter with the Uzbegs, he inflicted a severe defeat upon them, after which he re-entered Balkh without further opposition and placed it in the charge of a Rajput chief named Madhu Singh Hada. After staying there for three days, he started towards Aqcha, where a party of the Uzbegs, sent by Abdul Aziz Khan, the eldest son of Nazar Muhammad, and the leader of the ' Bukhara national defence,' had ioined with the fugitives from the pass of Gaz. Incessant fighting went on in course of which the Mughals had to suffer from various troubles. The Uzbegs hovered round the moving Mughal army, which did not however stop its forward march. The arrival of a large force from Bokhara under Prince Subhan

128 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

129 *Ibid.*

Quli for recapturing the city of Balkh disconcerted Aurangzeb, who immediately ordered retreat for defending that place. The Bokhara army under its ablest commanders, Abdul Aziz the king, Subhan Quli his brother and Beg Ughli, the Uzbeg chieftain, attacked the Mughals but the latter won the day by superior musketry and discipline. The king of Bokhara now opened negotiations with the Mughals for a peace, while Aurangzeb reached Balkh safely, on the 11th of June.

To the credit of the Mughals, it should be admitted that they had borne all the hardships and miseries of this strenuous fighting in a distant land, with extraordinary patience and courage. Aurangzeb, who was the moving spirit of the expedition, did not, like others before him, quit the field for fear of life or for the pleasures of the Indian plains, but continued struggling against adversity with an indomitable spirit, and even in the thick of fighting he would kneel down for his evening prayers. Such conduct did not fail to impress his adversary, the king of Bokhara, who exclaimed: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin."[130] But for the doggedness of Aurangzeb and his soldiers the national movement of the Uzbegs would have inflicted ignominious defeat on the Mughal expeditions.

It took some time to settle the terms of the peace. Shahjahan was ready to return the country to Nazar Muhammad, if the latter first satisfied imperial prestige by making submission. Three months were spent uselessly in negotiations, but Nazar Muhammad could not give up his suspicions about Aurangzeb's treachery. At length, on 23rd September, 1647, he sent his grandsons to the Mughal prince and excused himself on the ground of illness. Aurangzeb and his officers were really anxious to return to India before the approach of winter, and so on 1st October, 1647, he delivered the city and fort of Balkh to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons. Two days later, the Mughals began the return journey across the Hindukush, in the course of which they were subjected to extreme hardships and troubles.

130 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 94.

From all points of view, the Central-Asian enterprise of Shahjahan ended in a disastrous failure. It caused considerable losses in men and money without giving an inch of ground to the empire or adding to its prestige in the least. Sir J. N. Sarkar has thus estimated the results of these expeditions:

" Thus ended Shahjahan's fatuous war in Balkh—a war in which the Indian treasury spent four krores of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of 22½ lakhs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in the Balkh fort, worth five lakhs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains. Such is the terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier."[131]

After such a disaster, the Persians could hardly tolerate the Mughal possession of Kandahar. Shah Abbas II, who had come to the throne in 1642, made preparations for its recovery in August 1648, by storing up grains at important strategic points and by stationing a large force at Herat. His idea was to begin the attack in winter, when snowfall in Afghanistan would make the arrival of reinforcements from India difficult. On report of these preparations, Shahjahan consulted his ministers about the best way of checking the designs of the Shah ; they suggested the postponement of a punitive expedition till the winter was over. But " the natural consequence of neglecting an enemy followed. The Persian king triumphed over the depth of winter, his lack of provisions, and other difficulties, on which the courtiers of Shahjahan had built their hopes, and laid siege to Kandahar on 16th December 1648"[132] The siege lasted for 57 days after which the Mughal

131 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

garrison, finding that no help was coming from India capitulated on 11th February, 1649. If Daulat Khan, the Mughal commandant, had held out for another month, the Persians would perhaps have abandoned the siege for want of provisions. Unfortunately for the Mughals, Daulat Khan was a general of little judgment and he failed to act up to the situation. " But for the fall of Kandahar Shahjahan and his advisers alone must be held responsible. They had underrated the enemy's powers ; they had delayed their own preparations ; and above all they had left Daulat Khan in charge. Before the Persians arrived men and money had been thrown into the fort, but not the man needed for the occasion ; and in war it is not men but *the man* that counts."[133]

Aurangzeb and Sadulla Khan, who had been already advancing towards the north-west for checking the operations of the persians, were now ordered by Shahjahan to push on hurriedly to prevent the Persians from consolidating their conquest. The Emperor himself proceeded to Kabul (April 1649) to direct his troops from the rear. The Mughals appeared before Kandahar and besieged the fort on 16th May, 1649. But the Persians had already prepared themselves for the attack. Moreover they possessed a large number of fieldpieces against which the Mughals had no big guns. So they " failed with all their efforts," after a siege lasting for 3 months and 20 days, and Aurangzeb retreated hurriedly from Kandahar in obedience to his father's orders.

Shahjahan did not give up his design of recapturing Kandahar and he devoted the next three years in making preparations for a fresh enterprise. Big cannons were cast, provisions were stored at important centres on the route, camels and elephants were gathered for transport and war, and the friendship of the Baluchi chiefs was secured. The Emperor allotted two crores of rupees for these expenses, and himself remained at Kabul with forty to fifty thousand men for reinforcing his troops if necessary. The command of the army

133 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

was entrusted to Aurangzeb, who was helped by generals like Sadulla Khan (with his two sons) and Rustam Khan.

Kandahar was again besieged on 2nd May, 1652. The army had strict instructions from the Emperor that " no assault was to be delivered without making a breach." But the inefficient gunners of the Mughals could effect nothing in the face of the superior Persian artillery. By showering musket shots from the top of the fort walls the Persians killed and wounded large numbers of the Mughals. Failing to storm the fort in open fight, the Mughals resorted to treachery and tried to seduce Utar, the Persian commander. The latter, however, gave the taunting reply: " When you have succeeded in weakening the fort or injuring the garrison in any way it will be time for me to think of deserting to you." All the desperate efforts of the Mughals to effect a breach in the wall failed and they were no nearer success.

Sadulla Khan informed Shahjahan that there was not the least hope of success against the Persians and the provisions had run short. Moreover a body of Uzbeg horsemen, who had arrived in the district south of Ghazni, were threatening the Mughal line of communication between Kabul and Kandahar. Shahjahan, therefore, sent orders for abandoning the siege. Aurangzeb, who wanted to remove the disgrace of defeat, requested his father to give him another chance for renewing the attack. But Shahjahan remained inexorable and did not change his orders. In fact he had lost his confidence on Aurangzeb and wrote to him: " If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army. Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction." Aurangzeb left for the Deccan in August 1652, and Dara Shikoh received charge of the government of Kabul.

Aurangzeb's humiliation caused profound joy in the heart of his rival Dara, who was now exalted by the title of ' Shah Buland Ikbal ' or ' King of Lofty Fortune.' He proceeded with a vaster army and a larger park of artillery against Kandahar (22nd November, 1625), and promised to capture it within a week. But after five months' siege he returned unsuccessful

and discredited: Kandahar was thus finally lost to the Mughal Empire.

The three Kandahar campaigns caused considerable loss in men and money to the empire without adding to it an inch of territory. "The Indian tax-payer scattered in the wilds of Afghanistan about twelve krores of rupees or more than half the gross annual revenue of the entire empire, for absolutely no return." The moral prestige of the empire was sacrificed at the altar of imperial vanity and henceforth its military inefficiency became patent to the world. The repeated failures of the Mughals before Kandahar, coming so soon after the disasters in Central Asia, increased the military fame of the Persians and Transfrontier races, and generated high hopes in their minds "For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India" till in the middle of the eighteenth century it burst forth in returning storms and wrought a terrible havoc over the riches-laden Mughal Empire. The fate of the Mughal operations in the north-west frontier has an important lesson for all governments of India; it showed that for the effective control of this invaluable frontier occasional despatch of large and expensive punitive armies from the interior can be of no avail and that it needs the permanent establishment of powerful garrisons with superior equipments at several strategic points. The British Government has fully realised this.

As an emperor, Aurangzeb followed a forward policy on the north-west frontier, the scene of his earlier strenuous though futile activities. The unruly and turbulent tribes of that region, further subdivided into clans, were incapable of being organised into a nation, of establishing "any large and compact State, or even any enduring confederacy of tribes," or of working under a common head except for a time for plunder. They were continual disturbers of the peace of the adjacent countries or the safety of the roads and followed highway robbery as their means of livelihood. Besides using force for suppressing them, the Mughal Government sometimes offered them bribes in order to maintain order in that region. But "even political pensions were not always effective in

securing their obedience "[134] and their predatory habits and nefarious activities created a problem for the Mughal Empire. We have seen how Akbar and his two immediate successors tried to solve this problem for securing peace and order in that region with varying successes and failures. Troubles appeared afresh with the closing years of Shahjahan's reign and became serious at the accession of Aurangzeb. The Yusufzais first rose in arms in 1667 under one of their leaders named Bhagu. They crossed the Indus above Attock and invaded Pakhli in the Hazra district, where they captured the fort of Shadman, a local chieftain, and began to realise rents from the peasants. They attacked other Mughal outposts, whereupon the endangered officers prayed to the Emperor for help, who readily responded and sent three army divisions under three generals, to help the distressed officers and then invade the enemy country. They routed the Yusufzais completely (28th June, 1667), numbers of them being slain or drowned in the river and three hundred of them being taken prisoners. The Mughal generals also plundered many of their villages inflicting heavy losses. Thus the Yusufzais were suppressed for some time, and in the middle of 1671 Maharaja Jaswant Singh was sent by the Emperor to hold the outpost of Jamrud.

In 1672, however, the Afridis rose in revolt against the Mughals under their leader Acmal Khan, who proclaimed himself king and summoned the other tribes to join his standard. A rash attempt by Muhammad Amin Khan to put down their rising ended in disaster and he retreated to Peshawar with great difficulty. Ten thousand of the imperialists were slain in the field, above two crores of rupees in cash and kind fell into enemy's hands and about 20,000 men and women were captured and taken to Central Asiatic slave-markets for sale. On the other hand, this victory gave additional prestige and resources to the Afridi leader and drew new recruits to his side eager for plunder.

Some time before this the Mughals had been confronted with another tribal rising led by Khush-hal Khan, the chief of

[134] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 220.

the Khataks. The Khatak chief was invited to a *darbar* at Peshawar, where the Mughals arrested him treacherously. He was released in 1666 when he and his son proceeded with the Mughal army to fight with their hereditary enemies the Yusufzais. But the sight of his native land filled his mind with a longing for freedom; he joined the Afridi leader Acmal, and became the leader of a general Afghan movement. Thus the Mughals were again faced with a terrible danger. "Not only was the rising a national one, affecting the whole of the Pathan land from Kandahar to Attock," but its leaders were also men who had served in the Mughal army in Hindusthan and the Deccan, and knew the organisation, efficiency and tactics of the imperialists."[135] To meet this new menace, Aurangzeb immediately sent Farid Khan, the Governor of Lahore, to Peshawar, and Mahabat Khan was recalled from the Deccan and sent to Kabul. But as the latter proved a traitor he was replaced by Shujaat Khan, who was, however, severely defeated by the Afghans. Convinced of the necessity of suppressing the (Afghan) rising as quickly as possible, the Emperor proceeded in person to Hassan Abdal (24th June, 1674) and remained there for two years and a half. Force and diplomacy worked together ; many clans were won over to the Mughal side by the grant of presents, pensions, jagirs and offices, while the irreconcilables were suppressed by arms. The sons of both the Khatak chief and the Yusufzai leader came over to the Mughals. Yet the fighting did not stop. But in spite of heavy losses and reverses, "on the whole, the imperialists held their own by means of outposts and forts at strategic points in the Pathan country,"[136] and by the end of the year 1675, the Emperor was able to leave for Delhi. Amin Khan, who went to Kabul as its governor on 8th June, 1678, brought over many of the Afghan chiefs to his side by following a tactful conciliatory policy under the wise guidance of his wife Sahibji, a daughter of the famous Ali Mardan Khan. Thus the Emperor was able somehow to suppress the Afghan rising

135 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

and to maintain his prestige in the north-west " by following the policy of paying subsidies, or by setting one clan against another clan,—or to use his own metaphor, ' breaking two bones by knocking them together.'"[137]

But while the Bangashes, the Yusufzais and the other tribes submitted to the Mughals, the Khatak chief Khush-hal Khan continued the fight for many years afterwards, like another Pratap Singh, with unshaken determination and unbending spirit with his own son and kinsmen fighting against him. The memory of his captivity in Hindusthan had filled his mind with a spirit of vengeance and he would not stoop to barter away his freedom for petty personal gains. But the nearest of kin may sometimes turn out to be a man's greatest enemy and frustrate his best efforts ; the Khatak hero was at last betrayed into the hands of Aurangzeb by his own son.

The Mughal successes in the north-west frontier were in no way very brilliant, and were purchased at a great cost. Sir J. N. Sarkar has thus summarised its effects : " Ruinous as the Afghan war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the north-west frontier. The Maratha chief took advantage of this division of his enemy's strength to sweep in a dazzling succession of triumphs through Golkonda to the Karnatak and back again through Mysore and Bijapur to Raigarh, during the fifteen months following December 1676. It was the climax of his career; but the Afraids and Khataks made its unbroken success possible."[138]

Aurangzeb wanted to justify his own behaviour with his father and brothers in the eyes of the Muslim powers of the world, and from his accession to the throne till the end of his reign, he maintained friendly relations and exchanged

137 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

embassies and letters with them. Soon after his accession, he sent an embassy to the Sharif of Mecca with six lakhs and sixty thousand rupees for distribution among the poor, the recluses and the devotees at Mecca and Medina. The embassy returned to India in 1665, being accompanied by Sayyid Yahiya, who brought a friendly letter and some relics from the Sharif of Mecca. From this time almost every year agents of the Sharif came to the Delhi Court and realised money in the name of the Prophet. But as the Sharif began to appropriate the money for himself instead of distributing it among the poor, so Aurangzeb adopted the policy of sending money to the poor people of the Holy cities through the merchants of Surat without the knowledge of the Sharif.

Shah Abbas II, the ruler of Persia, sent an embassy to Aurangzeb under Budaq Beg conveying congratulations to him on his accession to the throne. The ambassador reached Delhi through Baluchistan and Multan on 22nd May, 1661, and was honourably received there. Tarbiyat Khan, the Governor of Multan, was also sent to Persia from the Mughal Court with a letter and presents of the value of about seven lakhs of rupees; but he received a rude treatment at the court of the Shah, who spoke in his presence about invading India and sent through him a taunting letter to Aurangzeb. When Tarbiyat Khan returned to the Emperor in September 1666, the latter "vented his impotent rage on the innocent envoy, accused him of having failed in his duty, denied him audience, degraded him in rank and finally sent him off as subahdar to the penal province of Orissa (June 1667)."[139] The Mughal Emperor suspected a Persian invasion of India and began to make preparations for repulsing it. But this was far from the truth; the Persian monarchy had at that time (14 years after its final conquest of Kandahar) been greatly weakened and the dreaded invasion did not come,—though the tribal ferment in the north-western frontier in those years made the situation very favourable for it.

Aurangzeb's Central Asian policy was not aggressive like that of his father, but he maintained all along "frequent and

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

uniformly cordial" intercourse with the powers of Central Asia. He exchanged friendly embassies and presents with Subhan Quli, now king of Balkh, Abdul Aziz Khan, king of Bokhara, and Abdulla Khan, king of Kashgar. He warmly received Abdulla Khan, when he retired to India after deposition by his son Bulbaras Khan. There were several scholars and merchants in Central Asia with whom he kept up a regular correspondence.

With the Turkish possessions in Europe Aurangzeb had not much contact, except that in June 1690, he received an embassy from Constantinople ; but with the chiefs of Arabia his relations were intimate. With those of Africa he had very slight connection. Thus under him the fame of the Mughal Empire spread throughout the different parts of the Muslim world.

SECTION IV

The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire

While the Mughals were trying (1519—62) to establish an Empire in Northern India, the South was dominated by the Hindu Empire of Vijaynagar (as it was in the preceding century and a half). But the Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan remained ever jealous of the power of the Hindu Empire, and their opportunity came when, after the death of Krishna Deva Raya (1529) the sceptre passed into the hands of his weak and incompetent brother Achyuta Deva (1530—42). Ismail Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur, recovered from him the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal, situated between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. About this time several factions arose at the Vijaynagar court, and in 1535 one of these invited Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur and the latter returned to his capital with rich presents after staying there for a week. Achyuta Raya died in 1542 and was succeeded by Sadasiva Raya, son of one of his predeceased brothers, who however became a puppet in the hands of Rama Raya, son of Krishna Deva Raya's able minister Saluva Timma. In 1543 Rama Raya entered into an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkunda for an attack on

Bijapur which was, however, saved by the tact and abilities of its clever minister Asad Khan, who broke up the coalition and made peace with Burhan Nizam Shah. A shifting of alliances took place in 1558 when Bijapur, Golkunda and Vijaynagar combined against Ahmadnagar and invaded it. The Vijaynagar army committed merciless ravages on the people of Ahmadnagar. According to Ferishta of Bijapur, who wrote shortly afterwards, " The infidels of Vijaynagar, who for many years had been wishing such an event, left no cruelty unpractised, they insulted the honour of the Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran." This opened the eyes of the Muslim states, who now realised the necessity of dropping their suicidal conflicts and of combining against their common rival, the infidel state of Vijaynagar; in 1564 the Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, and Golkunda entered into a confederacy against Vijaynagar and sealed it by inter-dynasty marriages (the most notable of them being that of Chand Bibi, daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, to Ali Adil Shah).

The allies began their southward march by the end of December 1564, and pooled their forces in about three weeks' time at Talikota in Bijapur territory to the north of the Krishna. At Vijaynagar there was the utmost confidence. Remembering how often the Muslims had vainly attempted to injure the great capital, and how for ever two centuries they had never succeeded in penetrating to the south, the inhabitants pursued their daily avocations with no shadow of dread and no sense of danger ; the strings of pack-bullocks laden with all kinds of merchandise wended their dusty way to and from the several seaports as if no sword of Damocles was hanging over the doomed city ; Sadasiva, the king, lived his profitless life in inglorious seclusion, and Rama Raya, king *de facto*, never for a moment relaxed his haughty indifference to the movements of his enemies " He treated their ambassadors," says Ferishta, " with scornful language, and regarded their enmity as of little moment."[140] Confident of numbers he led to battle

140 Sewell, p. 200.

an army of between five and ten lacs of men besides numerous elephants and guns, while his enemies could assemble only about half of his host. At first the Hindus seemed to have the advantage but they were ultimately routed in the so-called battle of Talikota (really of Raksas Tagdi) ; Rama Raya was captured and forthwith beheaded by Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. About a lac of the Hindus were slain and though princes and nobles fled further south with their riches, yet " the plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired only taking elephants for their own use." In two days' time the victors entered the undefended city of Vijaynagar, already being plundered by robber bands, and more than avenged the devastation of Ahmadnagar by Rama Raya (which however was only a return for the Bahmani atrocities in its wars with Vijaynagar). No Assyrian sacker of cities ever wrought more fearful destruction than that pictured by Sewell : " The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Mussalmans had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment but now they had reached the capital and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijaynagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood. They demolished the statues, and even succeeded in breaking the limbs of the huge Narasimha monolith. Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Vitthalaswami near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruc-

tion. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city ; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plentitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

The so-called battle of Talikota[141] is undoubtedly one of the most important battles in the whole course of Indian history and it marked a brilliant triumph of the forces of aggressive Islam against the Hindu predominance in the South. But the old view that it was completely destroyed there[141a] is incorrect and is to be given up. A modern writer has remarked that " Talikota was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric, of the Vijaynagar Empire."[141b] The recent researches of Father Heras[142] show that another brilliant period of Vijaynagar history followed close upon this defeat, under the Aravidu dynasty. After Talikota, Rama Raya's brother, Tirumala, usurped the royal power, founded a new dynasty in 1570, and " from Penugonda as his capital he began to exercise . . . commanding authority for intervention in the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom."[142a] About 1586 his son, Ranga II, was succeeded by his brother Venkata I, who was the most remarkable king of this new line. He removed the capital to Chandragiri (whence Madras was obtained by the British later on) and patronised Telugu poets and Vaishnava authors.[143] But under his successors disintegration came in ; much of the territory of the empire gradually fell into the hands

141 The allied troops first assembled at Talikota, but the actual battle was fought on the south of the Krishna at a place about thirty miles distant from Talikota.

141a Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 213—215.

141b *Journal of Indian History*, 1927, p. 78.

142 *History of the Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I. The author, who is one of the most impartial and critical workers in the field of Indian History, promises few other volumes on the subject.

142a *Journal of Indian History*, 1930, p. 176.

143 Prof. Tucci has recently brought to light the Travels of the *guru* of Taranath in this period, from which it is clear that the Vijaynagar Empire with its patronage of Telugu and Vaisnavism was quite flourishing in the latter part of Akbar's reign.

of the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golkunda (e.g., the Karnatic) and subordinate governors or chieftains like the Naiks of Madura or Tanjore carved independent principalities out of it in Mysore, Malabar and the extreme South.

The Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkunda[144] did not gain very much by striking this terrible blow on the Hindu Empire of the South. Its growth had kept them constantly active and watchful. But as its weakness dispelled their fears they sank back to inefficiency and again began to quarrel among themselves. Weak and divided among themselves, the Muslim states of the South presently fell an easy prey to the ambitious Mughals of the North. For some little time " Ahmadnagar and Bijapur became centres which fully kept up the traditions of Islamic dominion and Islamic culture founded by the Sultans of Kulbarga,"[145] but they were soon engulfed by Mughal imperialism. They lost as great a chance as did the Afghans and native Mussalmans of Northern India, of building up an Indo-Moslem empire from within by keeping away foreign adventurers ; so that the Mughal (or Turki) dominion became assured by the double failure of the Pathans after Babar and of the Deccani Moslems in the time of Akbar.

There was also another new and important factor in the history of Peninsular India in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese had strongly established themselves along the west and south-east coasts and had baffled the attempts of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda to capture their settlements in 1570. It seemed likely that they would grow into an Indian power through their interference in the affairs of the Deccan and South Indian States, besides capturing the sea-borne trade of India.

Such a state of things could not but rouse the imperialistic mind of Akbar and draw his arms to the South. In this southward movement Akbar was following a path many centuries old. " The Deccan policy of the Mughals was a legacy of two

144 Berar did not join the combination.

145 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

thousand years (or more) of Indian history, the direct outcome of geographical facts."[146] In spite of physical barriers like the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges, the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin possesses a geographical as well as cultural unity. The homogeneous factors have always produced and the heterogeneous factors have always checked " the attempts of the north and the south to dominate each other." But the assimilation of the two regions into one political unit was never completely achieved before the days of the British who progressed, at one and the same time, as a southern and eastern and a northern power. The earlier conquerors of the one region enjoyed only partial sovereignty in the other, as is shown by the history of the Mauryan, the Kushan, Gupta and post-Gupta, the Khilji and Tughlak attempts to conquer and dominate the south, and by that of the Satavahana, the Chalukya and Rastrakuta, the Chola and Kalachuri, and the Vijaynagar pushes towards the north. The aggression of the Mughals of the North from 1561 to 1691 produced its reaction in the aggression of the Marathas of the South from 1660 to 1794, the wasting of the Mughal Empire in the Deccan came to be repeated in the frittering away of Maratha power in Hindusthan ; and if Aurangzeb's career to his death was in the South, the north gate of Poona was significantly called the Dehli Gate.

After Akbar had consolidated his authority in Northern and Central India, the " age-long conflict between the north and the south was resumed."[147] He had two objects in view, both being the direct outcome of his imperialism : firstly, he wanted to bring the whole of India under his control so that he could not allow the states of the Deccan to remain independent ; and secondly, he wanted, through his hold on the south, to push the Portuguese back to the seas, for though he apparently maintained an attitude of friendship with them, he looked upon them as the enemies of his empire, exploiting a good part of its economic resources, and interfering in Indian

146 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 254.

147 *Ibid.*, p. 256.

politics to the detriment of the growing empire. Dr. Smith makes a strong but true remark that Akbar " entered upon his wars in the Deccan with a fixed resolve to use his expected conquests on the plateau as a foothold for a further advance to the coasts and the consequent subjugation of the European settlements."[148] It is this double objective that distinguishes the Deccan policy of Akbar from that of his successors, who modified the one and abandoned or substituted the other of the two original purposes. No national empire can flourish if foreigners are allowed to acquire control over a major part of its economic resources and to build up a political power in the same soil, or if portions of the country are allowed to be torn asunder by the mutual conflicts of petty independent states. It was not poor statesmanship that felt the necessity of controlling and reclaiming the seaboard in the interests of the new Indian Empire, and emphasised imperialism rather than religious fanaticism as the guiding principle of territorial expansion in the Peninsula.

There were at this time (c. 1590) four independent powers in the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkunda and Khandesh with whom Akbar had to deal ; Berar had been already incorporated (1574) in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and Bidar had become insignificant (annexed by Bijapur, 1609). In 1591, Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms demanding from them " some sort of formal recognition of his overlordship of the Deccan." All returned evasive answers except the kingdom of Khandesh, which was then ruled by a prince of the Faruki dynasty, named Raja Ali Khan. Akbar, therefore, decided upon war. In 1593 a large army proceeded under Bairam Khan's son, Abdur Rahim, against Ahmadnagar, and in 1595 Prince Murad was also associated with him. Operations were hampered as the Deccan states continued to fight among themselves and the two Mughal generals also could not pull on well with each other ; Ahmadnagar was somehow invested by the Mughals. But it was defended with a courage and resolution, reminiscent of her contemporary Durgavati,

148 *Akbar*, p. 265.

by Chand Sultana, dowager-queen of Bijapur and sister of Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar whose marriage in 1564 for once symbolised unity of the Deccan states. The result was a treaty in 1596 by which Berar was ceded to the Empire and the boy-king of Ahmadnagar promised to recognise Akbar's supremacy. But an intriguing faction at Ahmadnagar violated the treaty and deprived Chand Sultana of her influence in state affairs. War was renewed, and the Mughals gained a battle, though with heavy losses, at Sufa near Ashti on the Godavari in February, 1597. Internal dissensions prevented the proper defence of Ahmadnagar, and Chand Sultana, being either "murdered or constrained to take poison," the city was easily stormed in August, 1600. But the final annexation of the kingdom was deferred till the reign of Shahjahan.

Mian Bahadur Shah, the new ruler of Khandesh, relying on the strength of the fortress of Asirgarh, manifested designs of shaking off the imperial authority. But Akbar also was now relieved from the fear of Uzbek invasion by the death of Abdulla Khan Uzbek in 1598, and could therefore end his thirteen years' vigil in the Punjab and proceed from Lahore *via* Agra to the south in July of the following year. He easily occupied Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, and besieged (February, 1600) the mighty fortress of Asirgarh commanding it and the route to the Deccan, and practically invulnerable in those days owing to its strong natural and artificial defences and facility of keeping up an ample supply of foodstuff, water and equipments of war; besides Portuguese gunners (the best in India then) were employed for its defence. The besieged garrison was however greatly weakened by the outbreak of a terrible pestilence, and placed at a disadvantage by a treacherous act of Akbar. After six months of fruitless siege, Mian Bahadur Shah was inveigled by impatient Akbar into his camp for negotiation on promise of personal safety but was detained and compelled to write a letter to the garrison directing the surrender of the fort. This was followed up by lavish bribes to the Khandesh officers, so that in January, 1601, the gates of Asirgarh "were opened by golden keys." This was the last but the most disgraceful conquest of Akbar and hence-

forth he had no luck in the remaining few years of his career. Akbar's conduct has been defended on the ground of expediency and pressing necessity and it has been pointed out that he was led to use unfair means for taking Asirgarh as quickly as possible, because he had fresh difficulties to meet elsewhere, especially Salim's revolt in the North. Dr. Smith writes: "In the case of Asirgarh the temptation to Akbar was strong. His military reputation was staked upon the capture of the fortress, while owing to his age and the rebellion of his elder son he could not wait indefinitely for its fall. Almost universal Indian experience justified the belief that the captivity of the king would result in the immediate surrender of his garrison. The disappointment of that reasonable expectation, probably due to the presence of foreign officers, as well as the manifest impossibility of breaking down the defences, forced Akbar to rely on bribery when treachery had failed. His breach of faith, which cannot be justified on sound principles, need not cause surprise. Many rulers, ancient and modern, would have felt no hesitation in committing acts of perfidy quite as gross."[149] The newly-conquered territories were organised as three Subhas or provinces, namely, Ahmadnagar, Berar, Khandesh. After appointing Prince Daniyal the Viceroy of Southern and Western India, that is to say, of the three new Subahs with Malwa and Gujrat, Akbar returned to Agra in May 1601. "Thus in a few years the Mughal frontier had been pushed from the Narmada to the upper courses of the Krishna river (here called the Bhima). But the annexation was in form only. The new territory was too large to be effectively governed or even fully conquered. Everywhere, especially in the south and the west, local officers of the old dynasty refused to obey the conqueror, or began to set up puppet princes as a screen for their self-assertion. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkunda seized the adjacent districts of their fallen neighbour."[150]

149 *Ibid.*, p. 286.

150 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol I, p. 28.

Jahangir followed the aggressive policy of his father in the Deccan in the sense that he continued for long a feebly-conducted war against Ahmadnagar through quarrelling generals. There was not much hope of success against the persistent efforts of the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, Malik Ambar, who was one of the greatest generals and statesmen of Muslim India.[150a] He organised a fresh revenue system more or less on the line of Todar Mal which contributed to the happiness of the peasantry and to the wealth of the state: and it was he who for the first time trained the Marathas (in the Ahmadnagar army) in their famous guerrila method of warfare which afterwards enabled them to cope successfully with the Mughals. "A born leader of men, he conciliated all parties, maintained order, and left a name of justice, vigour and public benefit which has not been forgotten yet."[151]

Malik Ambar set himself to recover the lost territory, and profiting by the mutual jealousies of the Mughal generals, effectually checked their progress. In 1608 Jahangir sent there Khan-i-Khanan (Abdur Rahim) with 12,000 men to prosecute the war with greater vigour in the Deccan. But as he could not control his subordinates, Prince Parwez was given the supreme command, and early in 1610 he reached Burhanpur with 1,000 *ahadis* and more *mansabdari* soldiers. Prince Parwez however was given to extreme intemperance and was wholly devoid of military or administrative abilities, and he could hardly be expected to retrieve the position of the Mughals or to put down the dissensions amongst the officers. Jahangir therefore selected Khan Jahan Lodi for the Deccan expedition. The latter proceeded thither in March 1610, along with Bir Singh Deo, Shajaat Khan, Raja Bikramjit, Saif Khan of Barha, Hajib-i-Uzbek, Salamullah Arab and some other generals and found on reaching Burhanpur that the Mughals had already suffered a defeat at the hands of Malik Ambar's men, and had concluded a disgraceful treaty losing Ahmadnagar thereby. Khan Jahan ascribed all these to the Khan-i-

150a Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1933.

151 *Ibid.*

Khanan, suggested his recall and promised that on getting the chief command, he would conquer Ahmadnagar as well as Bijapur within two years. Jahangir accepted his proposals and transferred to him the command of the Deccan expedition. The Mughals then commenced the offensive operations in 1611 but could not effect anything in the face of the new Maratha system of guerilla warfare and were compelled to retreat towards Gujrat. Jahangir was highly offended with his officers for these reverses and thought of proceeding in person to the Deccan. But it was decided at a council of the nobles to re-appoint the Khan-i-Khanan to the chief command. The latter therefore started to execute his task in 1612 and " partially retrieved the prestige of Mughal arms during his second campaign." But his enemies again accused him of being in collusion with Malik Ambar and of having received the Deccan gold. This led to his second recall and to the appointment of Prince Khurram as the commander of the Deccan expedition.

Prince Khurram proceeded to the Deccan *via* Ajmere and entered Burhanpur on 6th March, 1617, accompanied by the Khan-i-Khanan, Khan Jahan and Mahabat Khan whom he joined on the left bank of the Narmada. He opened negotiations with the Deccanis for peace and the latter accepted the terms offered by him. Ibrahim Adil Shah II offered presents worth fifteen lakhs to the prince. The Mughals got back all the territory recently recovered by Malik Ambar and the keys of the fort of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds. The prince and his lieutenants were rewarded with high honours and presents at the Imperial court. Khurram now became ' Shahjahan ' (King of the World), received various gifts and his rank was raised to 30,000 *zat* and 20,000 *sawar*. The crafty Nurjahan celebrated a feast in honour of the prince and bestowed costly robes of honour on him. But the " glitter of jewels and the revelry of banquets shed a false lustre round Shahjahan's ' achievements.' As a matter of fact, he had only followed up the successes of Abdur Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan, with a temporary truce. Nothing could conceal the stern reality that the expenditure of millions of rupees and thuosands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontier a

single line beyond the limit of 1605."[152] The Deccan was as yet far from being conquered in the real sense of the term.

When Shahjahan revolted against the Emperor and proceeded to the Deccan, Malik Ambar, who could not forget his hostility to the Mughal Empire, offered him a hearty welcome and allied himself with the prince against the Emperor. Their designs[153] were, however, foiled by the arrival of Mahabat Khan to the Deccan. But Nurjahan's jealousy led to the recall of Mahabat Khan and the chief command of the Deccan expedition fell into the weaker hands of Khan Jahan Lodi, who would have soon suffered defeat and disgrace, had not Malik Ambar died in May 1626. The Deccan suffered a great loss in his death. The Mughal historian, Motamad Khan, who had no reason to be biased in favour of him, writes: "In warfare, in command, in sound judgment and in administration, he had no equal. He well understood that predatory warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *Bargi giri*.[154] He kept down the turbulent spirits of the country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."[155]

But he was succeeded by another equally able and unscrupulous Abyssinian named Hamid Khan, who renewed war with the Mughals. The imperial commander Khan Jahan like others before him fell a victim to the Deccan gold, accepted a huge bribe from Hamid and ceded to him[156] the whole country of Balaghat as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar. Thus Jahangir's Deccan policy had an inglorious end. It cost a great loss in men and money without bringing any territorial acquisition to the empire or adding in the least to its prestige.

152 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 285.

153 A striking earlier parallel of the rebel Prince Akbar's joining Rajputs and Marathas of the South.

154 Cf. 'bargir hangama,' the phrase in Bengali, used for disturbances of Maratha raids.

155 Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 428-29.

156 Akbar's opening the gates of Asirgarh with golden keys was quick in bearing fruit. It would be interesting to trace the part played by corruption in Medieval and Modern Indian History.

Indirectly it helped the rise of the Marathas, whose resources and military training improved greatly, and who got used to fighting and frustrating the Mughals, and thus emerged afterwards as the most dangerous enemies of the empire.

With Shahjahan's accession to the throne the Deccan policy of the Mughals passed into a new phase. As we have seen, the revolt of Prince Salim and the death of Akbar himself in 1605, checked the forward progress of Mughal imperialism in the South, and during the feeble reign of Jahangir, there was a distinct setback. But Shahjahan followed a vigorous policy in the Deccan from the very beginning of his reign. He was an orthodox Sunni, while the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda were professed Shias. He regarded it his duty to exterminate them and hence besides motives of political aggression he was prompted by the zeal of religious intolerance to launch vigorous campaigns against the Deccan Sultanates. Religious feelings distinctly influenced political matters since the reign of Shahjahan, though there were already the beginnings of this change in the time of Jahangir ; under Aurangzeb only a further step was taken so that politics was very often subordinated to religious fanaticism. To the historians of the modern age it is clear enough that in spite of the apparent growth and splendour of the empire under these two rulers, a deadly canker had begun to eat into its vitals, and that the dismemberment of the empire came as the inevitable nemesis of the narrow and bigoted policy of its rulers which was particularly unsuitable in a country like India, where the state has to deal with so many diverse elements equitably.

The death of Malik Ambar came as a blessing to the Mughals. In 1630 his unworthy son, Fateh Khan, the minister of Ahmadnagar, informed the Mughals that in order to protect his own life he had placed his master, the Nizam Shahi Sultan, in confinement. Shahjahan sent instructions to him in reply that he should " rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being." Fateh Khan complied with this ghastly suggestion, and placed on the throne a ten-year-old minor prince, named Husain Shah, who became a puppet in the hands of his domineering and treacherous minister. Shahjahan then asked

Asaf Khan to secure the submission of the Sultan of Bijapur who had not so far acknowledged the imperial authority in the Deccan and in case of non-compliance to conquer his kingdom. In 1631 Asaf Khan laid siege to Bijapur but was compelled to raise it after twenty days for want of supplies The country suffered terribly at the hands of the Mughals: "On whatever side they went they killed and made prisoners, and ravaged and laid waste on both sides. From the time of their entering the territories to the time of their departure, they kept up this devastation and plunder. The best part of the country was trodden under." It was chiefly to satisfy an aggressive and fanatic spirit that the Mughals indulged in this cruel warfare in the Deccan, and they withdrew with no permanent gains. These atrocities (followed by many more, as in 1636) produced by reaction a similar destructive force in the Deccan, born of hatred and revenge, which shortly began its work of hammering at the Mughal Empire.[157]

The Emperor left the Deccan for Agra on 4th April, 1632. Asaf Khan was now removed from the command of the Deccan expedition and Mahabat Khan was appointed in his place. Under him the Mughals laid siege to the fortress of Daulatabad, which Shahji (the father of the celebrated Shivaji) tried to wrest from the hands of the Nizam Shahis in alliance with the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. The Mughals made a breach in the defences by a mine and effected an entrance in the face of strong attack of the Bijapuris. The victors then laid another mine under the fortress-walls, but Fateh Khan now wavered in his alliance with the Mughals and tried to put off the exploding of it. The Khan-i-Khanan at once saw through his designs, won him over by a bribe of ten and a half lakhs, and thus secured the surrender of the fortress (1633). Just as at Asirgarh, the prestige of the imperial arms was saved more by bribery than by fair fight. The young nominal king Husain Shah was condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwalior and the

157 It will be noted that active persecution of Hindus and of Christians (e.g., at Benares and Hugli respectively) had begun by this time: 1632; the Deccan devastation and plunder was only another manifestation of this change in the Mughal state policy.

kingdom of the Nizam Shahis came to an end, though an unsuccessful attempt was presently made by Shahji to revive it by setting up a boy-prince of the Nizam Shahi family.

The Mughals however failed to take the fortress of Parenda, and owing to the outbreak of rains, they retreated to Burhanpur. Mahabat Khan died on 26th October, 1634, and Khan-i-Dauran was appointed to act temporarily in his place.

But Shahjahan's imperialistic or religious zeal could not be satisfied without the crushing of Bijapur and Golkunda. The help which they had secretly offered to the Nizam Shahis and the troubles created by Shahji (in Bijapur employ) added to his resentment and he called upon the rulers of those two countries to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay *Khiraj* as a mark of submission, and to abstain from interfering in the affairs of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shahjahan himself arrived at Daulatabad on 21st February, 1636, and made ready an army of 50,000 men for attacking Bijapur and Golkunda if they did not submit ; while another army of 8,000, under Shaista Khan, was sent to capture the remaining Nizam Shahi forts in the north-west and to occupy the Junnar and Nasik districts. Terrified by these preparatory movements, Abdulla Kutb Shah of Golkunda accepted the suzerainty of Shahjahan, and with " an abjectness shameful in a crowned head," submitted to all the humiliating terms proposed by the latter. He promised to pay an annual tribute to Shahjahan, to strike gold and silver coins in his name and to have the *Khutba* read in his name.[158]

The king of Bijapur did not, however, come down so low as to barter away his independence and ancestral dignity for personal safety. Three imperial armies marched into his kingdom from three sides,—one under Khan Jahan by way of Sholapur in the west, the second under Khan-i-Zaman by way of Indapur in the north-west and another under Khan-i-Dauran from Bidar in the north-east. Everywhere they " destroyed all trees of cultivation, burnt down the houses, drove off the cattle, butchered the villagers, or dragged them away to be sold as

158 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, pp. 29-30.

slaves." But like the Portuguese in 1632 the Bijapuris fought with the valour of despair and they saved their capital by cutting the dam of the Shahpur lake and flooding the whole countryside round the capital. Tired of war, both sides opened negotiations for peace which was concluded on the following terms :

(1) The Adil Shah acknowledged the overlordship of the Emperor ;

(2) besides being allowed to retain his ancestral kingdom, he got slices from the territory of the late Ahmadnagar kingdom to the extent of fifty parganas yielding an annual income of twenty lakhs of huns or eighty lakhs of rupees, the rest of the kingdom being annexed to the empire ;

(3) a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees in cash and kind was demanded from him as tribute ;

(4) he was required not to molest the kingdom of Golkunda which was now a state under Imperial protection ;

(5) both sides agreed not to seduce their respective officers from their master's service ; and

(6) Shahji Bhonsle was not to be allowed to hold any office under the Bijapur State, nor was he to be given shelter in the Bijapur territory if he did not surrender the Nizam Shahi forts which he had occupied during the war.

As requested by Adil Shah, the Emperor, whose continued presence with a large army in the Deccan increased the fears and anxieties of the Deccan people, set out for Mandu on 11th July, 1636. Three days later he sent his eighteen-years-old son Aurangzeb as the Viceroy of the Deccan.

The Mughal Deccan at this time consisted of four provinces, namely :

(1) Khandesh or the Tapti Valley with its capital at Burhanpur and chief stronghold at Asirgarh.

(2) Berar, south-east of Khandesh, with its capital at Elichpur and principal fort at Gawilgarh.

(3) Telingana, a vast and undefined territory to the south of Gondwana, extending from Chanda and the Wainganga (Vena-Ganga) to the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Golkunda, with its capital Nander and fortress Kandhar.

(4) The recently annexed Nizam Shahi territories with capital and stronghold first at Ahmadnagar and later at Daulatabad.

The four provinces contained sixty-four hill forts and their total revenue was five crores of rupees. Some of these forts were still in the hands of Shahji and other hostile chieftains. Of these Shahjahan's generals captured Udgir and Ansa, and Khan-i-Zaman succeeded in securing the submission of Shahji, who surrendered to the Mughals his Nizam Shahi princeling (October 1636) together with Junnar and six other forts still held by him. Khan-i-Dauran entered into the Gond country, between the Wardha (Varada) and the Wainganga, and exacted eight lakhs of rupees from the Gond chiefs (January 1637). Thus the wars between 1635—37 "enriched the Mughal treasury with tribute and booty amounting to two krores of rupees, and added to the empire a territory which when cultivated yielded a revenue of one krore."[159] The district of Bangala with its thirty-four parganas, lying between Khandesh and the Surat coast and ruled in unbroken succession for fourteen centuries by a Rathor family the Rajas of which used the distinctive title of Baharji, was conquered by the Mughals in January 1638 and its forts of Salir and Malir were captured. The ruler of the district submitted and joined the Mughal service ; he was created a mansabdar of 3,000 *zat* and 2,500 *sawar* and was allowed to possess an estate in Sultanpur, a district of Khandesh, north of the Tapti.

After one year's successful government during which Bangala and Shahji's forts were acquired, Aurangzeb returned

159 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

to Agra in 1637 to marry Dilras Banu, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan of the Persian royal family who was a Mughal officer. Towards the end of the first term of his viceroyalty, he again went to Agra on 2nd May, 1644, to see his favourite sister Jahanara, who had been badly burnt on 26th March, 1644, and was cured at last in November by an ointment prepared by a slave named Arif.[160] Three weeks after his arrival at Agra, Aurangzeb was dismissed from his post and deprived of his rank and jagirs by the Emperor. The older historians have given rather obscure reasons for this sudden fall from favour and unemployment for about nine months. According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, it was because, " misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, he wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic, and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of." Khafi Khan writes that Aurangzeb in order " to anticipate his father's punishment of his bad deeds, himself took off his work and lived for some days as a hermit," which led to his dismissal. But these do not satisfactorily explain the changed situation. As gathered from the letters of Aurangzeb,[161] the real reason lay in Dara's jealousy of and persistent hostility towards his able brother, and Shahjahan's partiality towards the former. As his administrative measures were very often thwarted by Dara (who was in power at Agra) and as he was even sometimes insulted by him, he found it impossible to work in the Deccan with self-respect or with any chance of discharging his duties properly, and therefore resigned his post in disgust, whereupon he was formally dismissed and degraded. But he was again restored to favour and was sent as Governor of Gujrat on 16th February, 1645.

After serving with some initial success and disastrous failures in the North-West (Balkh, Badakshan, Multan and Kandahar) from 1647 to 1652, early in 1653, Aurangzeb was

160 The story of the East India Company's surgeon Gabriel Boughton curing her cannot be true, as has been shown by Mr. Foster (Indian Antiquary, 1911), and Dr. Smith (Oxford History, p. 401).

161 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 67.

again sent across the Narmada as the Deccan Subahdar to keep him away from Dara at the capital. He found solace from failure and disappointment in the company of his new mistress, the musical Hira Bai (Zainabadi Mahal) at Burhanpur for about a year. From November 1653, Aurangzeb's official head-quarters was either Daulatabad or Aurangabad close by. During the nine years following his resignation in May, 1644, the administration of the Deccan had been hopelessly mismanaged owing to a " succession of short viceroyalties and incompetent viceroys."[162] Bad government coming after devastating wars, the Deccan during these years presented a scene of desolation and misery, with its agriculture totally neglected, vast tracts of land lying depopulated and the peasantry being subjected to extortions at the hands of successive shortsighted governors. There was a distinct fall in the revenues of the Subah and even the normal expenses of the administration could not be defrayed from its resources ; the deficit had to be made good by drawing upon other provinces and even the imperial treasury was heavily drained. The revenue of the four provinces of the Deccan was a decade ago estimated at three crores and sixty-two lakhs of rupees a year ; but in 1652 the actual collection came up to only one crore. Only one governor, Khan-i-Dauran, tried to send money to the imperial treasury by torturing the peasants. But " the policy of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs soon failed " and Aurangzeb on his return was faced with a critical financial situation. The jagirs granted to the military and civil officers had failed to produce enough for their maintenance. The actual collection of the state was sometimes only one-tenth of the assessment even in some of the most fertile districts. In order to meet the expenses of the administration, Aurangzeb drew upon the cash reserves in the treasuries of

162 Khan-i-Dauran succeeded Aurangzeb on 28th May, 1644, and was murdered on 22nd June, 1644. Jai Singh then officiated for him; Islam Khan was appointed on July 17, 1645, but died on 2nd November, 1647; Shah Nawaz Khan then officiated; Murad Bakhsh was appointed on 15th July, 1648; Shaista Khan replaced him on 4th September, and continued till September, 1652.

the Deccan, especially in the fort of Daulatabad, but the problem of low cash balances caused a great anxiety to Aurangzeb. He proposed to Shahjahan that "jagirs in part should be given to him and his higher officers in other provinces, and the cash portion of his salary might be made a charge on the flourishing treasuries of Malwa and Surat.' Shahjahan agreed to the first proposal, and, on Aurangzeb's refutation of the charge of selfish motives brought against him by the jagirdars, confirmed the transfer of lands, but he did not grant his second request for monetary assistance. The jagirdars, whose lands were thus resumed by Aurangzeb, complained to Shahjahan that the prince was collecting from the fiefs more than his sanctioned allowance, while they were actually starving. This highly enraged Shahjahan, who angrily wrote to Aurangzeb: "It is unworthy of a Mussalman and an act of injustice to take for yourself all the productive villages of a pargana and to assign to others only the less productive lands. I order you to take half a lakh worth of less productive land in the pargana of Asir, and decrease your cash by the same amount, so that your actual income may be made normal."[163] Aurangzeb did not submit to this quietly and wrote back to the Emperor protesting that the charges against him were wholly unjust.

After improving the finances to some extent, Aurangzeb devoted himself to promote agriculture in the Subah and to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry. In his measures in this direction, which have made his viceroyalty "memorable for ever in the history of land-settlement in the Deccan," he received valuable assistance from an able officer named Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of the 'Balaghat.'

For fiscal purposes, the Deccan Province was divided into two parts, each with its own diwan or revenue minister. 'The Painghat' comprised the whole of Khandesh and one half of Berar, while the remaining two and a half subahs formed 'the Balaghat.' He extended the system of Todar Mal to the Deccan thus continuing and repairing the work of Malik Ambar,

163 Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 166.

partially destroyed by the recent wars. He took care to restore the normal life of the villages by bringing the scattered ryots together and thus re-peopling them, and by supplying a regular gradation of village and local officers. *Amins* were appointed to measure the land, to prepare a record of holdings distinguishing arable from waste lands. New *muqaddams* (headmen) were appointed in the villages to look after the interests of the peasants and help in the collection of revenues. Loans were advanced to the poorer ryots for the purchase of agricultural implements and seeds, and they were allowed to repay these at harvest by instalments. So ardent was the zeal of Murshid Quli for these reforms, that he often " dragged the measuring chain with his own hands " and personally inspected the work of his subordinates. Though his reforms were mainly based on those of Todar Mal, yet he wisely made many local exceptions. In backward and thinly-populated areas he retained the old fixed lump payment per *plough;* while in other places he introduced the system of *batai* (metayership) for which there were three rates as follows :

(1) Where the crops dependend on rainfall, the share of the state was one-half ;

(2) where the irrigation work was done by well-water, the state received one-third both for the *Kharif* and the *Rabi* crops, while in the case of grape, sugarcane and other high-priced crops the share of the state was from one-ninth to one-fourth ;

(3) where the lands were irrigated by water from canals, the share of the state was sometimes higher and sometimes lower than in fields irrigated by well-water.

He also introduced in the Deccan another system of assessment called the *Jarib,* which was prevalent in Northern India and which came to be known afterwards for many centuries as " the *dhara* of Murshid Quli Khan." According to it the state-revenue was fixed per *bigha* after surveying the land and considering the quality and the quantity of crops produced therein. As a whole the reforms of Murshid Quli

Khan contributed much to the improvement of agriculture and prosperity of the peasantry. Sir J. N. Sarkar writes on the authority of Bhimsen Burhanpuri, the author of *Nuskha-i-Dilkhusa*,[164] that in 1658 there was not a "single piece of waste land near Aurangabad; wheat and pulse sold at 2½ maunds a rupee, *jawar* and *bajra* at 3½ maunds, molasses at half a maund, and yellow oil (ghee) at 4 seers."[165]

Aurangzeb did not stop with these internal reforms. He next took up the traditional policy of his dynasty and turned his attention towards destroying the independence of Bijapur and Golkunda, the two surviving Sultanates of the Deccan. Their independence was more offensive to and incompatible with Mughal imperialism now than half a century ago in Akbar's time, and their immense wealth having since then been several times plundered excited their cupidity all the more. Moreover, as an orthodox Sunni Shahjahan was surpassed by Aurangzeb, who from his early career evinced great zeal in taking up arms against these states, as their princes, nobles and peoples mostly professed the Shia creed and looked for patronage to the Shahan Shah of Persia rather than to the Padishah of Hindusthan. Pretexts for immediate attack were not also wanting. The annual tribute from the Sultan of Golkunda had always been in arrears and he evaded payment by various excuses. Shahjahan asked him to pay half his tribute in cash and the other half in elephants. But when this was not listened to Aurangzeb demanded a certain part of his territory in lieu of the arrear tribute. The Emperor took offence at the conquest of Karnatak (from the river Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri) by the Sultanates which meant increase of their power and resources, and demanded a large sum from the Sultan of Golkunda by way of atonement for the alleged crime against Mughal suzerainty. Lastly, a plausible excuse for war was found in the Sultan's treatment of his officer

[164] Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 231—241. An early copy of this manuscript, discovered by us, in an old Wakf Library at Kujhua, Saran District, was presented as an exhibit before the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Patna.

[165] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 173.

Mir Jumla, who sought and secured imperial protection with the help of Aurangzeb.

Mir Muhammad Sayyid, better known as Mir Jumla, came from Ardistan. Following the example of many other adventurers, he came to India as the servant of a jewel-merchant and accumulated a vast fortune by his deals in diamond and precious stones. By virtue of his uncommon talents he soon attracted the attention of Abdulla Qutb Shah, who took him into his service. Being endowed with great industry, military genius and administrative abilities, he rapidly gained his master's favour and became the chief minister and the virtual ruler of Golkunda. He conquered the Karnatak, which the Mughals had hitherto failed to take, by defeating the Raja of Chandragiri (representing the earlier Vijaynagar Empire). The Cuddapa district, Sidhout, east of Cuddapa, the rock-fortress of Gandikota were also captured by him. He acquired a dominion of three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, yielding an annual revenue of forty lakhs, and possessing several diamond mines. He amassed further wealth by plundering the Hindu temples of the South and by working the diamond mines of Golkunda. He maintained under his own absolute command an army of 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry besides 4,000 troops of Golkunda, whose captains had been seduced by him. In addition to these he had many trained elephants and an excellent park of artillery. Thus, as it has been remarked by one historian, " though Mir Jumla's rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince."[166]

No ruler of a country can tolerate the rise of such an over-powerful minister ; instances are not rare when such ministers have seized the throne for themselves after deposing their masters. It was therefore natural that the Sultan of Golkunda became greatly alarmed at the growing power and wealth of Mir Jumla. His enemies at the court excited the Sultan's wrath against him, and the Sultan settled with some of his courtiers to seize and blind him. But Mir Jumla came to know of this

166 *Ibid.*

plot and escaped to the Karnatak whence he did not come to visit his master in spite of repeated summons from the latter. Mir Jumla entered into intrigues with the Sultan of Bijapur and the Shah of Persia invoking their assistance in his distress. Aurangzeb with his eagerness for the conquest of Golkunda thought that discontented minister would prove a valuable helping hand for the realisation of his designs if he could be won over to his side. He tried to effect this by promising imperial favours and help to Mir Jumla. Matters came to a head with the arrest of Mir Jumla's son Muhammad Amin Khan with his family for his insolent behaviour towards the Sultan (21st November, 1655).

This supplied Aurangzeb with a pretext for war against the Sultan. He reported these matters to Shahjahan and solicited his permission for attacking Golkunda. Shahjahan sent a letter to the Qutb Shah bidding him release Mir Jumla's family, and " he rather reluctantly sanctioned the invasion of Golkunda in case Muhammad Amin was still detained."[167] Without giving the Qutb Shah time to consider and reply to the Emperor's letter, Aurangzeb declared war against him. Aurangzeb was determined to destroy him, as is clear from his instructions to his son Muhammad Sultan :

" Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkunda. But before doing so send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, ' I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But as you have not done so, I have myself come to you.' Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously and, if you can manage it, *lighten his neck of the burden of his head.* The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand."[168]

Prince Muhammad Sultan entered Hyderabad in January 1656. On the arrival of the Mughal forces, the Sultan of

167 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

168 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 208.

Golkunda, who became " more helpless than a child and more unnerved than a woman " shut himself up in the fortress of Golkunda. His officers waited on the Mughal prince with caskets of gems but this did not satisfy the Mughals. They plundered the city and " most of the stores and property of Qutb-ul-Mulk, such as precious books and other costly things beyond computation, were plundered by Prince Muhammad Sultan Much of Qutb-ul-Mulk's property, among the rarities of the age, was confiscated by Aurangzeb."[169] The foolish Sultan continued to send costly presents to the Mughal camp in the hope of making peace, but getting no favourable response he solicited help from Bijapur.

Aurangzeb arrived with the bulk of his army on the 6th February and next day besieged Golkunda. The fertility and wealth of the kingdom excited his cupidity so much that he " coveted the whole kingdom and nothing less " and he was bent upon preventing the conclusion of a treaty. " . . . such a money-yielding country, unmatched by the imperial dominions," he wrote to his father, " has fallen into this wretch's hands " and tried to obtain his permission for its complete annexation. But Shahjahan adopted a more accommodating attitude, being influenced by the recommendations of Dara and Jahanara, who sometimes managed to keep his religious bigotry in check by their liberalism and friendliness towards Hindus, Shias, Sufis and the like, and he ordered raising the siege of Golkunda and leaving the occupied territory at once, against Aurangzeb's wishes.

Aurangzeb had to comply, and raised the siege on 30th March, 1656. A peace was immediately concluded with the Sultan of Golkunda ; four days after, Prince Muhammad (aged nineteen) was married by proxy to the Sultan's daughter and on the 10th of April, the bride was brought to her husband's camp ; the Sultan swore on the Quran to obey the Emperor and received in return a letter of pardon and rich robes of honour from the Emperor. At the request of the queen-mother of Golkunda and the ladies of his own harem, Aurangzeb

169 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

remitted ten lakhs out of twenty-five lakhs of indemnity money promised by the Sultan, and after two months a further reduction to twenty lakhs was made by Shahjahan. But the Sultan had to cede the district of Rangir (modern Manikdrug and Chinoor) and he promised Aurangzeb secretly to make his son-in-law Prince Muhammad his heir. Mir Jumla was taken into Mughal imperial service, made a commander of 6,000 and appointed prime-minister in place of Sadullah Khan, who had died recently.

The conquest of Bijapur next engaged the attention of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Adil Shah, the capable ruler of Bijapur, died on 4th November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, who was then a youth of eighteen years. The accession of this young prince gave birth to internal disorders within the kingdom, which afforded a suitable opportunity to Aurangzeb for the gratification of his ambition. He solicited Shahjahan's permission for invading the kingdom on the ground that the new king was not the son of the dead ruler but a boy of obscure origin. The latter granted him full powers to "settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit." The Mughal army in the Deccan was reinforced by a fresh levy of 20,000 troopers and Mir Jumla was ordered to join Aurangzeb ; Shahjahan suggested merely the invasion of Bijapur but Aurangzeb was bent upon annexing the whole of it if possible, and wrote to Mir Jumla asking for his personal assistance in the matter as soon as possible.

Bijapur thus became a victim to Aurangzeb's unjust and aggressive imperialism without any fault of her own. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that "the war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal state, but an independent and equal ally of the Mughal Emperor, and the latter had no lawful right to confirm or question the succession at Bijapur. The true reason of the Mughal interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers, which presented a fine 'opportunity' for annexation, as Aurangzeb expressed it."[170]

170 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb laid siege to Bidar[171] whose strong fort-walls were 4,500 yards in circuit and 12 yards in height. It was bravely defended for twenty-seven days by the Qiladar Sidi Marjah, an old Adil Shahi officer, and his men, but gave way towards the end of March. A vast booty consisting of twelve lakhs of rupees in cash, eight lakhs worth of powder, shot, grain and other stores, besides 230 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the imperialists. Aurangzeb became very proud of this victory and boasted later on to Shivaji: "The fort of Bidar, which was accounted impregnable, and which is the key to the conquest of the Deccan and the Karnatak has been captured by me in one month, both fort and town, which was scarcely to have been expected without one year's fighting."[172] The Bijapuris began to mobilise a large army at Gulbarga with the object of making another attempt to retrieve their position. But Aurangzeb despatched a force of 15,000 cavalry under Mahabat Khan to devastate the Bijapur territory near about, "leaving no vestige of cultivation in that tract." Thereupon the Bijapur army, numbering some 20,000, under their famous commanders Khan Muhammad, Afzal Khan, and others, made a bold attack on the ravaging Mughals; but the latter successfully repelled it and drove back the Bijapuris a few miles. The city of Kalyani, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas, forty miles west of Bidar, was then besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657, assisted by Rajput contingents. A heroic defence was presented by Dilawar Khan, the Abyssinian commander of Kalyani, but he at last capitulated finding resistance of no avail, on 1st August, 1657.

Thus with Bidar and Kalyani in their hands the way for an attack on Bijapur itself lay open, when Shahjahan sent an order for the cessation of hostilities. The agents of the Sultan at Court, and Dara, whose jealousy increased at the sight of his rival's success, brought about this change in the Emperor's mind. His intervention checked Mughal aggressiveness in the

171 The principality of Bidar had been annexed by Bijapur in 1609.

172 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 242.

Deccan, and a peace was concluded (1657) with the Bijapur Sultan by which he surrendered Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda, and agreed to pay an indemnity of one and a half crores,—from which Shahjahan subsequently remitted half a crore. Aurangzeb was ordered to return with his army to Bidar, and the officers, who had come to the Deccan from Malwa and other parts of Hindusthan, were recalled to their respective posts.

The disorders following the illness of Shahjahan and the war of succession among his sons withdrew the attention of Mughal princes and officers to other theatres of action and saved the Deccan for some time from the onrush of the Mughal advance. Even after Aurangzeb was secure on his throne, for about twenty-two years he remained busy in the North with various civil and military affairs.[173] Mughal armies indeed were completely withdrawn from the Deccan borders ; but they achieved no decisive results against the Sultanates or the Marathas ; thus Shayista Khan's plan of backing up Bijapur against the rising Shivaji failed disastrously ; Muazzam and Jai Singh could not prevent Shivaji from plundering the richest imperial port, Surat, and though through friendship, persuasion and some successes Jai Singh could send Shivaji to Agra, the whole scheme failed,—while Jai Singh's Bijapur campaign came to nothing ; after him Jaswant Singh and Muazzam accepted large bribes from Shivaji and put off effective operations against him, and even persuaded Aurangzeb to grant him the status of a 'Raja,' three years after which came the first imposition of the Maratha *Chauth* on a Mughal province (Khandesh). For twenty-five years therefore the Deccan Sultanates were free to heal as best as they could the wounds of war ; but their recovery was only very partial, owing to the

173 E.G., Famine of 1660-61 and remission of about eighty taxes; Assam War, 1661—63; Arakan War, 1664—66; Aurangzeb's illness and Kashmir visit, 1664; Sivaji's visit to Agra, 1665-66; first Jat rebellion, 1669-70; Afghan tribal troubles, 1672—78; Sikh persecution, 1675; destruction of temples in Sindh, Multan, Benares and Mathura, 1669-70; Reimposition of Jiziya, 1679; Rajput War, from 1678, with Mewar till 1681; Rajputana temple destruction, 1679-80; Revolt of Prince Akbar, 1681.

rapid growth of the Maratha State at their expense and to the growing depravity and corruption amongst their princes and officials. Golkunda particularly could now be " hardly counted in the politics of the Deccan." This further weakening of the two Sultanates and the unchecked growth of the Maratha power created a new political situation in the South, and a serious menace, a challenge, to Mughal authority and imperialism. As Sir J. N. Sarkar puts it, " after the death of the last great Adil Shah (in November 1651), the dissolution of the remaining Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan and their absorption into the Mughal Empire would have taken place as an inevitable speedy and almost silent operation of nature, but for the entrance of a new factor (the Marathas) into Deccan politics."[174] The help which the rebel prince Akbar (deprived of Rajput support by his father's cunning) received from Shivaji's successor Shambhuji, appeared as a great danger to the Mughal Empire, and it convinced Aurangzeb of the necessity of his personal presence in the Deccan. But for this alliance between the " Disturber of India " and the "infernal son of the infernal infidel," as Aurangzeb called these two, he would have allowed the Deccan affairs to follow their own course for the time being, his hands being too full with the Northern affairs. But it became impossible for him to wait any longer and let the new danger grow, and so after hurriedly patching up a peace with the Rajputs (June 1681) he left Ajmere for the Deccan on 8th September, 1681, arriving at Burhanpur two months after, and at Ahmadnagar on 13th November, 1682, full of ambitious hopes, little knowing he had come to bury his empire and himself. " From this centre he used to send flying columns to drive away the Marathas wherever they were reported to be raiding, while large independent armies under his sons Shah Alam (Muazzam) and Azam and his chief geneals Khan-i-Jahan and Shihabuddin Khan (afterwards called Firuz Jung), were posted at important strategic positions for conquering the enemy's dominions." Four years were spent in fruitless attempts to capture Prince

174 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 4.

Akbar and in disastrous operations against the Marathas, though several forts were captured. Unsuccessful in his attempts to suppress the new-born power of the Marathas, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the easier conquest of the two decayed Sultanates. In launching his vigorous campaigns of 1685—87 against them he was prompted as in the case of Shahjahan and as in his earlier career in the Deccan by lust of conquest combined with religious hatred towards the Shiahs, who were according to him 'misbelievers' and 'corpse-eating demons.' Muazzam was sent against Golkunda in 1685; but he had a soft corner in his heart for the Deccan Sultanates and considered their complete destruction, as planned by his father, a bad policy. So he came to terms with Golkunda, which Aurangzeb temporarily accepted, while he resolved to teach his son a lesson later on.

Ruh-ulla Khan and Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur were commissioned to begin the siege of Bijapur towards the end of March 1685, and Aurangzeb himself went to Sholapur on 24th May to be present near the scene of operations. At the outset the situation of the Mughals was not very hopeful: the Adil Shah's pathetic appeal to the Sultan of Golkunda and Shambhuji received a favourable response; and the outbreak of a terrible famine and the consequent scarcity of provisions[175] greatly alarmed Aurangzeb, who ordered his son Azam to retire with his army from the Bijapur area. But Azam who wanted to win his father's favour now that Muazzam was in disfavour, remained firm, and inspired his officers by his conduct. Much pleased by this report, Aurangzeb sent him reinforcements when the siege had dragged on for fifteen monhts, and he himself proceeded to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the Bijapur fort. Before the personal presence of the dreaded Aurangzeb, the firm determination of his army leaders, and the thoroughness of his siege preparations, the Bijapuris lost heart, and scarcity of provisions made it impossible for them to hold out any longer; they capitulated on 12h Septem-

175 "Grain sold at Rs. 15 a seer, and that too in small quantities." Quoted in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 316.

ber, 1686. Sikandar, the last of the Adil Shahis, surrendered to the Emperor ; the dynasty founded by the brilliant Yusuf Adil Shah two centuries ago came to an inglorious end, and Bijapur ceased to be an independent kingdom, being annexed to the Mughal Empire. Sikandar was reduced to the status of a Mughal peer with the title of Khan and a pension of one lakh of rupees a year. He was lodged in the state-prison of Daulatabad, where he " sighed out many years of his life in the company of a brother in misery, Abul Hassan, the deposed Sultan of Golkunda," till he died on 23rd April, 1700.

A week after the fall of Bijapur, Aurangzeb entered it in triumph and offered at the Jama Masjid special prayers for his successes by divine grace. He took rest for some time in Sikandar's palace and satisfied his religious bigotry by destroying all its paintings and frescoes which he regarded as violation of the injunctions of the *Shariyat*.

With the loss of independence, Bijapur became a ruined and desolate city. Her wealth, culture and splendid art vanished with surprising rapidity and her citizens became subject to heavy extortions at the hands of the Mughal governors. " A few years later," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, " Bhimsen noticed how the city and its equally large suburb Nauraspur looked deserted and ruined ; the population was scattered, and even the abundant water-supply in the city wells had suddenly grown scanty."[176]

Aurangzeb was now free to deal with Golkunda. Abul Hasan, the successor of Abdulla Qutb Shah, was a pleasure-loving debauchee, who left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of his Brahman ministers Madanna and his brother Akanna. " This fraternising with infidels " was his worst offence in the eyes of Aurangzeb, who has himself described the *casus belli* in a letter to his envoy at the Golkunda court : " This luckless wretch (Abul Hasan Qutb Shah) has given the supreme power in his state to a *Kafir* and made Sayyids, Shaikhs, and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed (in his realm) all kinds of sin and vice, *viz.*, taverns,

176 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 327.

brothels and gambling houses. He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins through his excessive devotion to drink, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's commands and prohibitions, by sending aid to infidel powers, and by promising one lakh of *huns* to the Kafir Shambhuji, he has made himself accursed before God and man."[177] Moreover, the Sultan of Golkunda had not observed the terms of the treaty of 1656 ; the war-indemnity promised therein was not paid and the annual tribute of two lakhs of *huns* was always in arrears. He had also kept in his own hands the extensive dominion carved out in the Karnatik by Mir Jumla[178] and had actively helped the Bijapur Sultan against the Mughals recently.

Towards the end of January 1687, Aurangzeb himself marched to Golkunda, and ordered the siege of the fortress. He was for some time getting more and more annoyed with Muazzam, who had too readily come to terms with Golkunda two years ago and entered into friendly correspondence with Bijapur and even sent supplies to it during last year's siege ; Muazzam now went further, and was secretly sending envoys and letters to Abul Hasan and encouraging him " to look up to him as his only friend in court and not to seek other intercessor." So Aurangzeb threw him into prison (March 1687) and he remained in confinement for seven years.[179] The siege was continued for about eight months, and the Mughals tried every possible means, mines, bombardments and escalades, but could achieve no success. Famine and pestilence greatly harassed the besiegers and they also suffered heavy

177 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 341 from Khafi Khan.

178 When he was minister of Golkunda; but though he had soon after become a Mughal official, he was at this time (1687) dead twenty-four years ago.

179 Till April 1694, when he was set free and posted as governor of Kabul, to oppose and fight out his claims to the throne against Prince Akbar who had escaped to Persia, and with Persian help had advanced as far as Multan.

losses from enemy attacks. When valour and arms failed, Aurangzeb, like Akbar before Asirgarh tried "the golden key": the seduction and treachery of one of Abul Hasan's officers named Abdullah Pani, an Afghan soldier of fortune, enabled the Mughals to capture Golkunda easily. Thus on 21st September (1687) the eight months' siege ended "not in a glorious victory of arms, but in a shameful capture through bribery."[180] But there was one faithful officer in Golkunda, Abdur Razzaq, surnamed Mustafa Khan, who scornfully refused to accept bribes from the Mughals and fought bravely to the last till he fell on the field of battle with seventy wounds. He was brought back to life through the care and treatment of two physicians, one a European and the other a Hindu, who had been employed by Aurangzeb to attend the hero of Golkunda. About a year later he accepted much against his will a *mansab* under the empire. After being beaten before Aurangzeb to force him to reveal his treasures, Abul Hasan was sent a captive to the fort of Daulatabad to spend his days in sorrow on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and Golkunda was annexed to the empire. The Mughals obtained a rich booty amounting to nearly seven crores of rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled ware.

Historians like Elphinstone, Smith[181] and others have charged Aurangzeb with political short-sightedness for his destroying the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, which, according to them, might have helped him in crushing the Marathas. But Sir J. N. Sarkar takes a different view. He points out that since Akbar had crossed the Vindhyas, the Deccan Sultanates could never forget that "the sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperors was the final extinction and annexation of all their territories,"[182] and as such an alliance between them and the Mughals was out of the question. He also holds that the Marathas had already formed a progressive national state (1674—80) and it would have been impossible for the decadent

180 *Ibid.*, p. 362.

181 *Oxford History*, p. 443.

182 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 5.

Muslim states to offer any substantial check to them. The second view is based on a critical examination of the facts of contemporary Deccan history and is therefore more acceptable.

Two years after the fall of Bijapur, Shambhuji, the brave but licentious Maratha king, was captured in discreditable circumstances along with his Brahman minister Kalusha, and was executed on 11th March, 1689 (with his minister and a dozen other followers), after suffering prolonged and barbarous tortures inflicted under the personal direction of Aurangzeb. The Mughals then took possession of his capital Raigarh. His brother Raja Ram escaped to Jinji fort in the Karnatic in the disguise of a mendicant, but nearly the whole of his and Shambhuji's family was captured, with Shambhuji's seven-year-old son Shivaji, commonly known as Sahu, who was given the rank of a mansabdar of 7,000 and was kept as a state prisoner in the imperial camp where he was brought up with care in the Mughal princely way.[183] This success was followed up two years later by the levying of tribute on Tanjore and Trichinopoly further south Hindu states allied with the Marathas.

Thus by 1691 Aurangzeb reached the zenith of power as the paramount ruler of Northern India as also of the Peninsula. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever . . . Lawlessness reigned in many places of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far-off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindusthan, and the administration grew slack and corrupt; chiefs and zamindars defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with tumult. In the province of Agra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage; not a

183 This captivity and training of Shahu produced later on important results in Maratha history.

single grand edifice, finely written manuscript, or exquisite picture commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endlss war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury ; the government turned bankrupt, the soldiers, starving from arrears of pay, mutinied ; and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able diwan Murshid Quli Khan, was the sole support of the Emperor's household and army, and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, ' It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me.' The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb."[184] Thus was the destructive work of Mughal imperialism in the Peninsula paid back in its own coin.

SECTION V

Relations Between the Mughals and the Marathas

The Marathas proved to be the most formidable foes of the Mughal Empire and they played an important part in the modern history of India for two centuries and more. The scattered fragments of the Maratha race were organised and consolidated into a national state by Shivaji. But the Maratha Swarajya of the seventeenth century was not an isolated phenomenon in Indian history. Though apparently organised by the daring and genius of Shivaji, it was really the product of the special geographical situation of the Maratha country and of the religious revival that had been inspiring the people with new hopes and ideals throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It might be regarded as the counterpart or the rebirth of the Vijaynagar Empire just as the latter was of the Yadava and Hoysala kingdoms, and it marked the culmination of the force of Hindu revival, which had started centuries ago (first half of fourteenth century) and had been silently but steadily working on the minds of the people all over the country though with varying intensity.

The Maratha country was provided with natural defences nearly on all sides. The Vindhya and the Satpura ranges and

184 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 50-51.

the Narmada and the Tapti rivers stood as double lines of ramparts and moats against invasions from Northern and Central India, while on the west it was protected by the ocean and the parallel Western Ghats (or the Sahyadri range), which formed a high and rugged wall along the entire western edge of the Peninsula. Thus " almost locked among the hills and open only in the east," the Maratha country " could not be annexed or conquered by one cavalry dash or even one year's campaigning." The numerous broken ranges of hills provided the Marathas with ' ready-made and easily defensible rock-forts,' from which they could successfully defy or repel the attacks of invaders. The sterile soil, the scanty rainfall, and the poor agricultural resources of the Maratha land forced on them a life of strenuous activity and a Spartan hardihood giving them no opportunities for indulging in luxury, ease and sordid pleasures. Nature compelled them to develop " self-reliance, courage, perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straightforwardness, a sense of social equality and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man."[185] Social distinctions among them were few, and, being free from feminine seclusion (purdah) their women added to the strength and patriotism of the men.[186]

A renaissance (self-awakening) must precede great political changes in a country. The seeds of such a new life had been sown in the land of the Marathas even before the Mughals appeared in India, and the preachings of a number of religious reformers through successive centuries had fostered a sense of equality among them and inspired them with noble religious and patriotic ideals. Ekanath, Tukaram, Ramdas and Vaman Pandit,—all preached the *Bhakti* cult and the doctrine of equality of mankind before God. Among them Ramdas Samarth, who was looked upon by Shivaji as his Guru, created a tremendous stir in the minds of his countrymen. He worked with batches of disciples in his *maths* (monasteries) for the

185 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 10.

186 Though degenerated to some extent in course of centuries, the basic elements of Maratha character has remained the same.

social reform and national regeneration of his motherland. His intense patriotism is revealed in his writings like the *Dasabodha*, wherein he taught the philosophy of action (Karma) and urged his disciples to strive hard for working up to the ideals he set before them and for carrying the message throughout the land.[186a] Mr. Ranade thus writes of this reformation movement in Maharashtra: "Like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The religious revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth, and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and the law of love, to all other acquired merits and good works. This religious revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society,—tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even scavengers more often than Brahmans."[187]

Besides the reformed religion, literature and language furnished another bond of union among the various sections of the community. The religious songs of the popular reformers like Tukaram, Ramdas, Vaman Pandit and Moro Pant gave inspiration to every son of Maharashtra acquainted with Marathi letters and the popularity and love of the mother-tongue thus enriched by simple poetry and forceful thought were increased. "Thus, a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people was supplied by his creation of a national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus in the end a

186a Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History* (1933 Edn.), pp. 64—68.

187 *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 10.

tribe,—or rather a collection of tribes and castes,—was fused into a *nation,* and by the end of the eighteenth century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained. Thus history has moulded society."[188]

But it was not for the first time that the people of Maharashtra rode on the crest of a political and cultural wave ; leaving out ancient history, even in the middle ages, their ancestors had twice built up the Rastrakuta power against Northern Rajput dominion, and maintained Hindu traditions under the Yadavas of Deogiri while the rest of India was being flooded by the onrush of foreign conquest.

The Marathas then lost their independence and ceased to exist as a nation ever since the overthrow of the Yadava Ramdev by Alauddin. But in another forty years they began to play an important part in the administration of the Bahmani Kingdom and then in that of the five states into which this kingdom afterwards broke up. They found special opportunities for active service in the states of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, which together formed the greater part of Maharashtra. Shahji, the father of the celebrated Shivaji, began his career as a general and a *jagirdar* in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. He distinguished himself in the wars that Ahmadnagar had to wage against the Mughals and played the rôle of a king-maker during the closing years of the Nizam Shahi dynasty. But " Shahji's achievements only provoked jealousy and, instead of meeting rewards for services rendered, he found that he had the counteracting machinations of court intriguers against him."[189] He therefore transferred his services to the Bijapur Kingdom in 1636 and there also he achieved the same distinction through the help of the commander-in-chief Ranadullah Khan and of Murari Khan. Besides his old *jagir* of Poona and Supa, he received from his new master a grant of the

[188] Sarkar's *Shivaji,* pp. 17-18.

[189] *The Rise of the Maratha Power* by Dr. Aiyanger, Journal of Indian History, 1930, pp. 173—217.

whole country from Chakan to Indapur and Shirwal as his *jagir*.

Shivaji was born in the hill-fort of Shivner either in 1627 according to the historians of the older school or in February 1630 as their modern opponents assert.[190] As Shahji removed to his new *jagir* with his second wife Tuka Bai Mohite, Shivaji and his mother Jija Bai were left in the old *jagir* under the care and guardianship of a Brahman named Dadaji Konddev. Thus like Sher Shah, Shivaji was "practically a stranger to his father for several years after his birth."[191] Neglected by her husband, Jija Bai, who was a woman of uncommon talents and religious turn of mind, trained her child in high ideals and inspired him with the tales of heroism and chivalry of past ages. As in the case of most great men, the seeds of greatness were sown in Shivaji's mind by his mother. Besides this Dadaji Konddev also exerted a powerful influence on his character. Like Akbar, Haidar Ali, and Ranjit Singh, Shivaji had no formal literary education, but his memory was full of the contents of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and his mind was impressed with the knowledge and wisdom contained in the classical or contemporary religious literature. He was thus well acquainted with the arts of peace and war and grew to be a bold and adventurous soldier living and working in a dreamland of patriotic achievements and gathering round him a band of youngmen of similar temperament and outlook. "There seems to be little doubt," remarks Mr. Rawlinson, "that his career was inspired by a real desire to free his country from what he considered to be a foreign tyranny, and not by a mere love of plunder."[192] Through his mother he claimed descent from the Yadavas of Deogiri (once the rulers of Maharashtra) and on his father's side he was descended from the heroic Sisodias of Mewar. Sentiment alone was enough to urge him to revive the lost glories of the Hindus

190 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 23. Journal of Indian History 1927, pp. 177—197.

191 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 25.

192 *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 30.

and " to protect the Brahman and the cow " (as the orthodox slogan puts it) from the attacks of the Mughal persecutors. His early training and environment implanted in his mind a love of independence and in spite of some opposition from Dadaji Konddev who suggested to him the advisability of rising to prominence by serving the Bijapur State like his ancestors, he fixed his choice upon a career of adventure and enterprise. " A career of independence was no doubt risky to Shivaji, but it had undreamt-of advantages to compensate for the risk, if only he could succeed."[193] He disclaimed to serve in the decadent Bijapur State distracted by intrigue, bloodshed and foreign wars.

Through the help of Dadaji, Shivaji secured the attachment of the hillmen of the Maval country running along the Western Ghats for a length of ninety miles and a breadth of twelve to fourteen miles. Their alliance was of great value to him, because through them he became acquainted with the country and they supplied him with " his best soldiers, his earliest comrades, and his most devoted commanders."[194] His first exploit was the capture (1646) of the fortress of Torna, twenty miles south-west of Poona, which was followed by the building of a new fort named Rajgarh, five miles east of Torna. The illness of the Sultan of Bijapur and the consequent disorder prevailing in his kingdom encouraged him to extend the range of his activities. The death of Dadaji early in 1647 left him free to pursue his ambitious designs and he soon strengthened his hold over all parts of Shahji's western *jagir*. The fort of Chakan and the outposts of Baramati and Indapur passed under his control, and he seized the forts of Sinhagad, Kondana and Purandarpur by bribery, force or trick. Thus his possessions were now secured by a long chain of hill-forts on the south. Shivaji next entered into Konkan and established his authority over the northern part of it (the present districts

193 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 35.

194 *Ibid.*, p. 33. The Mavals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were probably the same people as the Mavellas noted in the Epic-Puranic literature as a fighting race of Central and South-West India, often recruited by other powers.

of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri) then under the control of a Muhammadan governor at Bijapur named Mulla Ahmad.

The increasing activities of Shivaji at last opened the eyes of the Sultan of Bijapur. About this time his father was arrested by the Bijapuri commander-in-chief, Mustafa Khan for displaying a spirit of insubordination during the siege of Jinji,[195] and for his attempt to enter Qutb Shah's service, which was an act of treason against Bijapur. Shivaji found himself in a great difficulty, which he tried to solve by diplomacy, *i.e.*, by negotiating with Prince Murad Baksh, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, for help. But it is doubtful if the release of Shahji was due to any active intervention of Shahjahan, who was bound by treaty not to entertain the rebellious officers of Bijapur. Sir J. N. Sarkar ascribes it " to the friendly mediation of Sharza Khan and the bail of Ranadullah Khan, two leading nobles of Bijapur," as contemporary accounts say, " not a word about any Mughal exertion for his liberation."[196] Shahji's release had been conditional on the good behaviour of his son. For the time being therefore Shivaji did not engage in offensive operations against the Sultan of Bijapur, but devoted himself to the strengthening of his acquisitions and in making preparations for a fresh struggle with his enemies in the Deccan. He however thought himself free to annex the Maratha principality of Jawli, then held by

195 Mr. Rawlinson believes in the account of Chitnis, written 160 years after the event, that Shahji's arrest was due to the Bijapur Sultan's wrath against him for his supposed connivance at his son's activities. But Sir J. N. Sarkar accepts the other account on the authority of a contemporary Persian historian of Bijapur. Recenly Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has expressed some doubt on the opinion that Shahji's arrest by Bijapur was due " to this attempt on his part to prove traitor of Bijapur. The story of this arrest is given entirely differently in Maratha sources of history, but the cause may have been perhaps to some extent what it is stated to be here. But even so, it would be rather difficult to accept it altog-ther as correct without confirmation in the face of the contradiction in Mahratta sources. The fact that Shahji was let off so easily by the Bijapur monarch and his court, according to the court chroniclers, would go a long way to show that perhaps this statement is not exactly the truth." J.I.H., 1930.

196 *Shivaji*, p. 48.

a semi-independent chieftain named Chandra Rao More ; the conquest became easy after Chandra Rao was treacherously murdered by an agent of Shivaji at his instigation. Jawli opened a door for Shivaji's progress into the South and the West and greatly added to his strength and resources ; many Mavle infantrymen formerly in the employ of Chandra Rao now joined him, and the vast wealth of the Mores fell into his hands. He constructed a new fort named Pratapgad,[197] two miles west of Jawli, while the eastern half of Ratnagiri also came under his control.

The Mughals and the Bijapuris were equally in Shivaji's way ; but he did not think it proper to quarrel with both at the same time, and so for several years he courted Mughal alliance. When after the death of Ali Adil Shah II on 4th November, 1656, Aurangzeb (then Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan) invaded Bijapur, Shivaji opened negotiations with him for Imperial protection and Aurangzeb also wrote to him in assuring terms. "Each was equally desirous of playing the other off against their common enemy, Bijapur, but the negotiations bore no fruit for want of mutual confidence." Shivaji then raided Mughal territory as far as Junnar and Ahmadnagar, the former being captured with three lakhs of treasure. But when the Sultan of Bijapur concluded peace with Aurangzeb, Shivaji thought it useless to fight singlehanded with the Mughal Empire at that time ; so he sought peace and pardon from the Mughals which were not granted by Aurangzeb, who however had soon to proceed to the North on hearing of his father's illness.

Being thus freed from further Mughal invasions, the Bijapur government thought of taking serious measures against Shivaji and of doing away with him once for all. Shahji[198] was first asked to check his son's hostile activities, but he expressed his inability to bring him under his control. Recourse was therefore taken to force for suppressing Shivaji. Early in 1659 Afzal

197 Here he sat up an image of his patron goddess Bhavani.

198 It should be noted that Shahji occupied a position of great importance in the Bijapur state for many years and about this there are clear references in the contemporary European Factory Records, J.I.H., 1930, pp. 200—210.

Khan, a noble of high rank and an experienced general, was sent with a large force. The dowager-queen of Bijapur "Counselled him to pretend friendship" with Shivaji for effecting his capture or murder. On his way Afzal deliberately insulted Hinduism by desecrating the temples of Tuljapur and Pandharpur, and within a fortnight reached Wai, twenty miles north of Satara. Failing to bring out Shivaji out of his stronghold of Pratapgad even by such provocations, Afzal Khan opened negotiations with him and sent his lands-steward Krishnaji Bhaskar with a letter for him promising therein that if he submitted he would use his influence with the Adil Shah for formally confirming him in the forts and districts seized by him and for securing him distinctions as a mark of royal favour. Shivaji now found himself in a dilemma. He could capitulate to Afzal Khan only at the sacrifice of his aim of founding an independent dominion, but if he defied the Bijapur authority its implacable hostility would reinforce that of the Mughals. His ministers and generals urged for peace, but he decided to meet Afzal boldly[199] and began to prepare himself for this.

But for the time being he received Afzal's envoy Krishnaji Bhaskar with respect and elicitd from him the real intentions of Afzal. He learnt from him and from his own agent to Afzal named Gopinath that the Bijapur general "had so arranged matters that Shiva would be arrested at the interview, as he was too cunning to be caught by open fight." Afzal and Shivaji met, very slightly attended in a conference, when the sturdy and stalwart Muslim general embraced the short slim Maratha and holding his neck firm within his left arm he thrust his dagger at Shivaji, who however escaped injury being protected by hidden armour: the trick exposed, the quick Shivaji forthwith tore Afzal's bowels with his *bagnakh* (gloves of steel-claws). Thus the Bijapuri general lost his life, his troops were scattered and butchered and his baggage and artillery train were captured.

199 Accoding to a legend he got an inspiration from the goddess Bhavani to do so. *Vide* Dr. S. N. Sen's *Life of Siva Chatrapati*, p. 184.

Authorities are divided in their opinion as to whether the murder of Afzal was an act of treachery on the part of Shivaji or not. Khafi Khan lays the entire blame upon Shivaji and says: "The designing rascal by sending various presents and fruits of the country and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing all his false and deceiving statements and observing none of that caution which the wise commend."[200] Grant Duff also levels the same charge against Shivaji and his views have been accepted by many other European writers. The Marathas to whom the "fight with Afzal has always appeared as at once a war of national liberation and a crusade against the desecration of their temples," have justified the murder. Modern researches have however proved that the murder of Afzal by Shivaji was not premeditated, but was an act of self-defence. As we have already seen, it was Afzal who had been asked by his sovereign to capture Shivaji treacherously by feigning friendship, and when the latter came to know definitely from agents of both sides that the Muslim general meant treachery, it was certainly necessary that he should at least take with him some means of defence at the conference. It is also clear from circumstantial evidences that Afzal was the first to attack and Shivaji could not very well practise non-violence or chivalry before an enemy who was determined to take his life by any means.

After the murder of Afzal, Shivaji's *jagirs* were invaded by a Bijapur army, and he got over this danger with some difficulty (1660). But soon he was faced with another: Shaista Khan, the new Governor of the Deccan, was now entrusted by Aurangzeb with the task of suppressing the upstart Shivaji who had dared to lead a Hindu crusade. The Mughals occupied Puna, captured the fort of Chakan and after two years' desultory fighting (1661—63) established their control over North Konkan including the district of Kalyan. But within a month of meeting with these reverses, Shivaji struck a decisive blow at the Mughals by a stratagem. On one Ramzan night

200 Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 259.

(1663) when the retainers of Shaista Khan's household at Poona had fallen fast asleep, Shivaji entered his apartments with some of his followers, " surprised and wounded the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves,"[201] slew his son Abul Fath, about forty of his attendants and six of his wives and slave-girls, and went away to the neighbouring stronghold of Singhagad. Out of shame and grief Shaista Khan retired to Aurangabad, but he was soon transferred to the easier government of Bengal by the Emperor, who ascribed the disaster in the Deccan to the viceroy's negligence and inability. He left the Deccan about the middle of January 1664 after handing over the charge of his office to his successor Prince Muazzam.

The success of the night attack immensely increased the prestige of Shivaji. " He seemed to be everywhere and prepared for every emergency." Early in January 1664, he sacked Surat, the richest port on the west coast and " the gateway to the holy places of Arabia " for Indian Muslims. He plundered the city with ruthless vengeance and gathered a booty amounting to more than one crore of rupees and " scorned to carry away anything but gold, silver, pearls, diamonds and such precious ware." The English and the Dutch Factors managed to defend themselves under the leadership of Sir George Oxenden.

These repeated reverses greatly impaired imperial prestige, and early in 1665 Aurangzeb sent Mirza Raja Jai Singh assisted by able officers like Dilir Khan with 14,000 troopers. He reached Poona on 3rd March, 1665, and took over charge from Maharaja Jaswant Singh, who left for Delhi. Being a " man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonial courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of the Afghan and Turks, Rajputs and Hindusthanis, that followed the crescent banner of the

201 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 98.

sovereign of Delhi."[202] He had gained considerable experience by serving in imperial campaigns in different parts of the empire, and age had given him soberness and foresight. But the task before him was very great. The Deccan " had been the grave of many a reputation, and he had the failures of his predecessors before him." There was also every chance that the arrival of a strong Mughal force in the Deccan might lead to a combination between the Deccan Sultanates and the Marathas. So he proceeded with cautious steps and tried to combine against Shivaji all his enemies and to harass him by directing attacks from all possible quarters. Above all he " concentrated all authoriy in his own hands, as an indispensable condition of success in war." His troops entered the Maratha country without much opposition and besieged the fort of Purandar. It fell after a heroic defence by the 'Prabhu' commander, Musar Baji Deshpande of Mahad, who was killed in action with his 300 Mavles. Even Rajgarh, the centre of his power, was blockaded by the Mughals. Shivaji was therefore compelled to sue for peace and the treaty of Purandar concluded (June 1665) whereby Shivaji surrendered twenty-three of his forts and retained twelve for himself. It was arranged that his son Shambhuji was to be created a *Panjhazari Mansabdar* of the empire with a suitable *jagir*, while he himself was to be exempted from attendance at the Emperor's court like other nobles and Rajas ; but he promised to render military aid to the Emperor's wars in the Deccan. By another clause Shivaji agreed to pay forty lakhs of *huns* to the Emperor in thirteen annual instalments if his possession of certain lands yielding four lakhs of *huns* a year in the Konkan and five lakhs of *huns* a year in the Balaq was confirmed. It was expected that he would occupy those lands from the Bijapuri officers with his own soldiers. Lastly, Shivaji agreed to help the Mughals in their invasion of Bijapur. Jai Singh regarded this as a great diplomatic thiumph and wrote to the Emperor: " This policy will result in a threefold gain: firstly, we get forty lakhs of *huns* or two crores

202 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

of rupees ; secondly, Shivaji will be alienated from Bijapur ; thirdly, the imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungly regions, as Shivaji will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijapuri garrisons from them." Shivaji received imperial honours and presens and he joined the Mughals with his own contingents in their war against Bijapur. The Bijapur campaign however proved unsuccessful, but in order to prevent Shivaji from going over to the enemies of the enemies of the Mughals, Jai Singh "plied him with high hopes and 'used a thousand devices' and persuaded him to visit the imperial court."

As to the considerations which led Shivaji to visit the imperial court, Mr. Sardesai says that he agreed to it because he wanted to have a personal knowledge of the Emperor, his court and the sources of his strength, in order to form rightly his future plans of operations against him.[203] But Sir J. N. Sarkar points out that Jai Singh had to secure his consent to his proposal by holding out high hopes of reward and honour and by taking solemn oaths along with his son Kunwar Ramsingh that they would be responsible for his safety at the imperial capital. Shivaji knew the risks of his visit to the imperial court and it is difficult to believe that he would have volunteered to undertake it. Most probably the latter opinion brings out the truth of the matter. Shivaji hoped to utilise the personal interview with the Emperor by requesting him to cede the island of Jangira, then held by the Siddi, an imperial servant. In accordance with contemporary practice, Shivaji consulted the soothsayers who assured him of a safe return, and the majority of his ministers were also in favour of this venture.

Shivaji along with his son Shambhuji reached Agra on the 9th of May, 1666, and was three days later admitted in the Hall of Public Audience. Kunwar Ramsingh laid before him 1,500 gold pieces as present (*nazar*) and Rs. 6,000 as offering (*nisar*), but Aurangzeb assumed a rather cold attitude, and

203 *Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 74.

exclaimed 'come up, Shivaji Rajah'! and after Shivaji had made his ceremonial obeisance, he was, at the Emperor's signal, allotted a place among the third grade nobles and Aurangzeb took no further notice of him. Shivaji flew into a rage at this studied humiliation, expostulated with Kunwar Ramsingh and even cried out that he would prefer death to this disgrace and fell down in a swoon. There was a great stir in the court and when Aurangzeb enquired what the matter was, Ramsingh diplomatically replied, "The tiger is a wild beast of the forest. He feels oppressed by heat in a place like this and has been taken ill."[204] On his restoration to senses, Shivaji charged the Emperor with breach of faith. When the Emperor's men informed him of this, he placed Shivaji under guard. "Thus Shivaji's high hopes were dashed to pieces and he found himself a prisoner instead."[205]

An ordinary man would have given way to despair under such circumstances ; but Shivaji was gifted with an unusual resourcefulness, and he began to devise plans for his escape. He feigned illness and continued to send basketfuls of sweets out of his house every evening for distribution among the Brahmans, religious mendicants and courtiers by way of pious gifts. These baskets were searched by the guards for some days and afterwards allowed to pass unexamined. One evening he and his son concealed themselves in two such baskets and passed out of Agra unnoticed by anybody to a village six miles from Agra, where his chief justice Niraji Ravi had arrived and was waiting for them with horses. They galloped away to Mathura, where he left his son Shambhuji, who was worn out by fatigue, under the care of a Maratha Brahman. Then shaving off his beard and moustaches and besmearing himself with ashes, Shivaji proceeded in the disguise of a sannyasi through Allahabad, Benares, Gaya, Puri, the Gondwana country, the territory of Bijapur and Golkunda and reached home towards the end of December 1666. His return

204 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 176.

205 *Ibid.*, p. 177.

was hailed with great rejoicings in Maharashtra. "It was a national deliverance, as providential as it was romantic." But for it, all the hopes of the Marathas would have been blighted for ever. It caused much heart-burning to Aurangzeb, who suspecting Ramsingh of conniving at Shivaji's escape, recalled Jai Singh from the Deccan (in May 1667), though he wrote to the emperor's prime minister about a proposal to entrap Shivaji a second time by a false proposal of marriage between his own son and Shivaji's daughter, and then to murder him on his way to the Rajput general's camp.[206] Prince Muazzam was reappointed in the place of Jai Singh, with Jaswant Singh as the second in command. Jai Singh died (or was poisoned, according to some accounts) on his way to the North, at Burhanpur on 2nd July, 1667.

Returning home after his adventures, Shivaji concluded peace with the Mughals, who were then not in a position to molest him because of the Afghans risings in the North-West, "which taxed the imperial strength for more than a year." Shivaji also wanted peace for reorganising and consolidating his own government. Prince Muazzam and Raja Jaswant Singh persuaded the Emperor to recognise Shivaji's title of Rajah ; his son Shambhuji was created a Panjahazari noble and received *jagirs* in Berar. But neither Shivaji nor Aurangzeb was sincere in his attachment. Both wanted time to prepare themselves for a fresh struggle, and the rapture was precipitated by Aurangzeb's policy of retrenchment in the Deccan military service, which threw a part of his soldiery over to the side of Shivaji, and by his order of attachment of a part of Shivaji's new *jagir* in Berar for recovering the amount which had been advanced to him for his journey to the imperial court. War was renewed in January 1670. The position of the Mughals became weaker than before owing to internal dissensions among their generals and the Marathas captured the forts of Kondana, Purandar, Mahuli, and Nander, and drove out the Mughal Faujdar from the Konkan. In October 1670, Shivaji attacked Surat, ransacked houses and shops

[206] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

except those of the European factors, and carried off a booty worth sixty-six lakhs of rupees. A serious injury was inflicted on the trade of Surat, the richest port of the empire, as for several years after these two sacks the citizens and merchants lived in a state of panic and left their home to find shelter in distant places whenever the Marathas came nearer or there was any rumour of their reappearance. Thus "business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the great emporium of Western India." In 1672 the Marathas demanded the *chauth* from Surat and in the wars from 1670 to 1674 they achieved continued success. The "Mughal power in the Deccan was crippled" and being occupied with the Afghan rising in the North-West Frontier, Aurangzeb recalled Dilir Khan to that quarter leaving Deccan affairs to shape themselves for the time being. In order to legalise his position in the eyes of others, Shivaji now had himself formally crowned at Raigad with great pomp and splendour in June 1674. He assumed the title of *Chhatrapati* ('Lord of the Umbrella or Emperor') and *go-brahmana pratipalaka* ('Protector of Cows and Brahmans or Defender of the Orthodox Hindu Faith').[206a] This coronation ceremony was highly significant. It marked the triumphant establishment of an aggressive *Hindu Swaraj* in the teeth of an aggressive Muslim imperialism.

The formal establishment of this new monarchy entailed enormous expenses (about fifty lakhs of rupees) and exhausted Shivaji's reserves in such a way that it now became necessary for him to renew his raids for money. The preoccupation of the Mughals with the tribal risings in the North-West Frontier left him comparatively free to pursue his plans and he carried on wars with the Mughals, Bijapur and the Abyssinians of Jinjira (Jangira). These did not however supply him with sufficient money and he therefore turned his eyes towards the rich Karnatak plain stretching down to the Madras coast. He first secured the alliance of the Qutb Shah of Golkunda through

[206a] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70

mediation of Raghunath Narayan Hanumante, who had then resigned the ministership of Tanjore (ruled by Vyankoji, half-brother of Shivaji); and then prevailed upon Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, who had been alienated against Bijapur, to observe neutrality, during his invasion of the Karnatak (1677-78). Shivaji rapidly took possession of Jinji, Vellore and many other forts which greatly enhanced his prestige in the Deccan; the territory conquered by him in the Karnatak yielded an annual revenue of twenty lakhs of *huns* and contained 100 strongholds. After some hostile efforts against Shivaji his brother Vyankoji made peace with him through the mediation of Raghunath Narayan Hanumante. Shivaji restored to him the Karnatak plain keeping only the forts and the tableland of Mysore in his own hands. His last campaign (1779) was directed towards the Mughal Deccan, but all his plans against the Mughals were cut short by his premature death on 4th April, 1680, at the age of fifty-three (or fifty). Shivaji's kingdom included the entire coast extending from Ramnagar (modern Dharmpur State in the Surat Agency) in the north to Karwar, in the south excepting the Portuguese possessions (Daman, Salsette, Bassein, etc.). Towards the east the boundary embraced Baglana in the north and then ran southwards in an irregular line through the Nasik and Poona districts round the whole of the Satara and much of the Kolhapur districts. His recent conquests added to this the Western Karnatak extending from Belgaum to the bank of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district of what is now the Madras Presidency.

Shivaji was endowed with the spirit of an enlightened despot, and his administration, which was an improvement upon the existing order, was well calculated to secure the comfort and well-being of his subjects. It was not, though some of the European writers have so urged, a downright militarism, based on plunder, with no sound policy or beneficent principle. "Like nearly all great warriors—Napoleon is a conspicuous example—Shivaji was also a great administrator for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which are required by the successful organizer and

statesman."[207] Like the contemporary Muslim rulers of India, Shivaji was an autocrat and the supreme authority in the state was concentrated in his hands. But in the actual work of administration he was assisted by a council of eight ministers, the *ashta pradhan*. The council did not possess the characteristic of the modern cabinets[207a] and its function was purely advisory. The eight ministers were :

(1) The Prime Minister (*Peshwa*), whose duty was to look after the general welfare and interests of the state.

(2) The Finance Minister (*Amatya*) who checked and countersigned all public accounts of the kingdom in general and of the particular districts.

(3) The Chronicler (*Mantri*) who kept daily record of the king's doings and court proceedings.

(4) The Superintendent (*Sachiva*) who looked into the king's correspondence by drafting and revising letters and affixing royal seals on them and he also checked the accounts of the *mahals* and *parganas*.

(5) The Foreign Secretary (*Samanta*) in charge of the relations with foreign powers.

(6) The Commander-in-Chief (*Senapati*).

(7) The Ecclesiastical Head (*Pandit Rao* and *Dana-dhyakṣha* or the Royal Chaplain and Almoner) who looked after the grant of lands to religious bodies and learned men, decided theological disputes, and fixed dates for ceremonials.

(8) The Chief Justice (*Nyayadhisha*).

There were no less than thirty departments of the state, which were placed under the charge of ministers. The districts directly under his rule, known as the Swaraj territory, were divided into three provinces, each under a viceroy. These viceroys held their office during the king's pleasure and worked like him with the help of eight principal officers. All ministers

207 Rawlinson's *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 89.
207a Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

of Shivaji except the commander-in-chief belonged to the Brahman caste, and all of them except the Pandit Rao and the Nyayadhisha had also to discharge the functions of military commanders when necessary. By not allowing these offices to become hereditary, Shivaji prevented for some time the evil of the growth of a number of practically independent authorities within the state ; but after him this tendency became prominent in the later Maratha history, owing to a departure from his salutary practice.[208]

Himself a born military leader, Shivaji effected important improvements in the military system. To prevent decentralising tendencies, he abolished the *jagir* system and introduced payment of soldiers in cash. The maintenance of a large number of forts formed a special feature of his system. There were 240 forts in his territory and he expended great care and skill in repairing the important ones like Rajgad, Torna, Pratapgad and Raigad (known as ' Gibraltar of the East '). These strongholds were of great strategic value, and Rawlinson remarks that " the people were taught to regard ' the fort as their mother ' as indeed it was, for thither the inhabitants of the surrounding villages resorted in time of invasions, with their flocks and herds and treasure, and in times of peace they earned a living by supplying the garrisons with provisions and fodder."[209] Every fort was under three officers of equal rank, *viz.*, the *havaldar*, the *sabnis* and the *sar-i-naubat*, who were to act together. In order to prevent treachery on the part of the officers, he provided " that in each garrison there should be a mixture of castes." The environs of the fort were entrusted to men of the Parwari and Ramushi castes.

Shivaji maintained a standing army, the strength of which rose from thirty to forty thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry recruited from the ranks of the peasantry. He also organised a fighting fleet and recruited his crew from among the low caste Hindus of the Bombay coast.[210] Though the

208 Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power*; p. 125.

209 *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 93.

210 *Vide* Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 336—40 and Dr. S. Sen's *History of the Maratha Navy* published in the *Journal of Indian History*.

achievements of the Maratha navy under Shivaji were not so remarkable, yet in subsequent times the Maratha fleet under the Angrias gave much trouble to the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch. According to the *Sabhasad Bakhar* he had an elephant corps numbering about 1,260, and a camel corps numbering 3,000 or 1,500.[211] We have no precise knowledge about the strength of his artillery, but Mr. Orme mentions that "he had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannon and lead sufficient for his matchlock from the French Director at Surat."[212]

There was a hierarchy of officers in the military department. The cavalry consisted of *bargirs* or soldiers supplied with pay and equipments by the state and the *silahdars* who provided themselves with their own equipments and received a stipulated sum from the state for meeting the expenses of service in the field. In the cavalry the unit was formed by twenty-five troopers; over twenty-five men was one *havaldar*, over five *havaldars* one *jumladar* and over ten *jumlas* one *hazari* who was paid 1,000 *huns* a year. Five *hazaris* formed a *panjhazari* who received a salary of 2,000 *huns* and these were under the command of a *sarnobat* or Senapati, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry. There was a similar grade of officers in the infantry. The lowest unit was formed by nine privates (*paiks*) under the command of a *nayak*. Over five *nayaks* was one *havaldar*, two or three of whom were under one *jumladar*; ten *jumladars* were under one *hazari*, and seven *hazaris* were under the command of the *sarnobat* of the infantry.

Though generous in the matter of payment or rewards to his soldiers, Shivaji always tried to maintain strict discipline in the army and never allowed anything which might degrade their morals. He drew up the following regulations for the guidance:

"The troops were to go into cantonments in the home territory during the rainy season (June—September). Grains, fodder, and medicines were kept in stock for the horses, and

211 Sarkar's *Shivaji*.

212 *Historical Fragments*, p. 38.

the huts of the troopers were kept thatched with grass. On the day of *Dasahara* (early in October) the army should set out from the camp for the country selected by the Rajah. At the time of their departure a list was made of all the property that every man, high or low, of the army carried with himself. The troops were to subsist in foreign parts for eight months and also levy contributions. No woman, female slave or dancing girl was to be allowed to accompany the army. A soldier keeping any of these was to be beheaded. No woman or child was to be taken captive, but only men. Cows were exempt from seizure, but bullocks might be taken for transport only. Brahmanas were not to be molested, nor taken as hostages for ransom. No soldier should misconduct himself (during a campaign).

Eight months were to be passed in such expeditions abroad The generals on their return should see the Rajah, deliver their booty)in gold, silver, jewels and costly cloth to him, present their accounts and take their dues from the Treasury. The officers and men were to be promoted or punished according to their conduct during the late campaign. Then they would again remain for four months in camp."[213]

These were not mere paper regulations but were regularly enforced. Khafi Khan writes: Shivaji " laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *pulsiyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them ; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs or jewels, were not to belong to the finder but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers and to be by them paid over to Shivaji's government.[214] During the sack of Surat, the Marathas " did not touch cloth, copper utensils, and other insignificant articles."[215]

For purposes of revenue collection and administration Shivaji divided his kingdom into several *prant(a)s* or provinces,

213 Quoted in Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 469-70.

214 Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 260-61.

215 Rawlinson, *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 98 footnote.

each of which was subdivided into *parganas* and *tarfs*, the lowest unit being formed by the village. The *tarf* was under a *havaldar* or a *karkun*, the *prant* under a *subahdar*, *karkun*, or *mukhya deshadhikari*; sometimes several *prants* were placed under a *subahdar* who received as his salary 400 *huns* a year besides a *palki* allowance of another 400. Shivaji tried to sweep away the farming system and substituted for it direct arrangement with the cultivators. "The ryots were not subject to the authority of the zamindars, *deshmukhs*, and *desais*, who had no right to exercise the powers of a political superior (overlord) or harass the ryots."[216] The assessment was made after the lands had been carefully surveyed by the *kathi* or measuring rod. The state's share was fixed at 30 per cent but it was afterwards raised by Shivaji to 40 per cent when he had abolished all other taxes and cesses.[217] The cultivator had the option of paying either in cash or kind. The peasants knew what they had to pay and they could pay it without any great oppression.[218] Agriculture received state encouragement; in times of famine, grain and money for the purchase of seeds were advanced to the ryots who repaid the debt in instalments according to their means. Fryer has given an unfavourable and wrong picture of Shivaji's revenue administration when he says that the peasants were subject to extortions and oppression at the hands of the officers and in fact "the great fish prey on the little and even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji." The true explanation of such observations seems to be that Shivaji in restoring order in the midst of anarchy and establishing a financially sound state, had to be very strict in revenue realisation and this to average men compared unfavourably with the lax ways of the decaying Bijapur government. All the modern scholars have established, after a critical examination of the original sources, that his system was humane and beneficent; even Grant Duff with all his attacks against Shivaji owns that "his claim to a

216 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 471.

217 Dr. S. Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 73.

218 Kennedy, *History of the Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 125.

high rank in the page of history must be admitted " and that under him the kingdom was well administered being conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people.

As the hill tracts of Maharashtra did not yield land revenue up to his expectation, Shivaji often levied the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from neighbouring and sometimes from distant districts directly or nominally within other states. According to Mr. Ranade the *chauth* was not a ' mere military contribution without any moral or legal obligation, but a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third power.' He compares it with Wellesley's policy of subsidiary alliances and says: " the demand for the *chauth* was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops maintained for such services. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was the same idea which in Marquis of Wellesley's hands bore such fruit a hundred and twenty years later."[219] But Sir J. N. Sarkar holds a different opinion and writes: " The payment of the *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Maratha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivaji any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder. The Marathas looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey after they had left. The *chauth* was only a means of buying off one robber ; and not a subsidiary system for the maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. The lands subject to the *chauth* cannot, therefore, be rightly called spheres of influence."[220] Mr. Sardesai says that it was a tribute realised from hostile or conquered territories.[221] This practice was in vogue in Western India before Shivaji and he exacted it from the countries which he invaded promising in return exemption from other exactions and protection against

219 *Rise of the Maratha Power*, pp. 224-25.

220 *Shivaji*, p. 458. But see *infra*, Chap. II, Part II, Husain Ali's treaty with the Marathas and f. n. on the point.

221 *Main Currents of Maratha History*, pp. 80—82.

any other foreign invasion. Dr. Sen holds that the *chauth* wa a contribution exacted by a military leader though he adc that such exactions were justified by the urgent needs of th situation.[222] Whatever might be the theory of the *chauth* Dr. Sen gives a real picture of the thing as it was in practice In theory the *chauth* was one-fourth of the revenue of a district invaded by the Marathas, but " as this paper assessmen was always larger than the actual collection, the real incidence of the *chauth* was considerably more than one-fourth of what the peasants paid to their legitimate sovereign."[223] The *sardeshmukhi* was an additional levy of 10 per cent and it was demanded by Shivaji as he claimed to be the hereditary *sardeshmukhi* of the Maratha country, which was nothing but a legal fiction.

Shivaji occupies a prominent place in the history of India. Possessed of a creative genius of high order, he rose from the position of a petty *jagirdar* to that of a *Chhatrapati* and proved himself the irresistible foe of the Timurid Empire which was then at the zenith of its power. The young Persian King, Shah Abbas II, wrote tauntingly to Aurangzeb, " You call yourself a Padishah, but cannot subdue a mere zemindar like Shiva. I am going to India to teach you your business." To the Hindus of his age, subject to galling persecution, he appeared " as the star of a new hope, the protector of the ritualistic paintmark (*tilak*) on the forehead of Hindus and the saviour of Brahmans." The most notable of his achievements was the wielding of the scattered fragments of the Maratha race into a nation, in the teeth of violent Muslim opposition. This small new-born nation continued to defy the mighty Timurid Empire during and after Aurangzeb and remained the most dominating power in India throughout the eighteenth century, so that at one time a descendant of Aurangzeb held his throne as the puppet of a Maratha chief and the power of its new competitor the East India Company was seriously challenged. " He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a

222 *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 100.

223 Sarkar's *Shivaji*, pp. 457-58.

spell over all who knew him, drawing the best elements of the country to his side and winning the most devoted service from his officers, while his dazzling victories and ever ready smile made him the idol of his soldiery. His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success, as his selection of generals and governors, diplomatists and secretaries was never at fault, and his administration, both civil and military, was unrivalled for efficiency." The territory under his direct authority enjoyed all the gifts of good government such as universal toleration, equal justice and protection. He did not utilise its resources for the satisfaction of his whims or for his personal comforts, but he was ever watchful after the welfare of the common people and he extended his charity and benevolence to all.

Shivaji was not merely " an entrepreneur of rapine or a Hindu edition of Alauddin Khilji or Taimur " as Khafi Khan and some Western writers have wrongly believed. Sir J. N. Sarkar regards him " as the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced. His system was his own creation and, unlike Ranjit Singh, he took no foreign aid in his administration. His army was drilled and commanded by his own people and not by Frenchmen. What he built lasted long ; his institutions were looked up to with admiration and emulation even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule."[224] He had not a robber's love of plunder for plunder's sake or a savage and ruthless conqueror's liking for unnecessary cruelty. Mr. Rawlinson rightly remarks : " His was a dark and violent age, and at least Shivaji's hands were not stained, like those of Aurangzeb, with the blood of his kindred. He was never deliberately or wantonly cruel. To respect women, mosques, and non-combatants, to stop promiscuous slaughter after a battle, to realise and dismiss with honour captured officers and men—these are, surely, no light virtues."[225] Of course the raids carried on by his soldiers cannot always be defended, but it was not always possible for

224 *Ibid.*, p. 496.

225 *Shivaji the Maratha*, p. 99.

him to restrain them by his personal presence. The desperate, reckless and relentless character of his lifelong warfare was more or less due to his conviction,—a right one and the result of his correct study of the trend of the imperial policy in the peninsula since the days of Akbar,—that every Deccani power must fight the Mughal tooth and nail for its existence. His wars with Bijapur (ruling over a large part of the Maratha country) were also necessay for the realisation of his ideal of an independent Maratha national state in the Deccan. Scholars have expressed different opinions about his ideal of an empire. Mr. Sardesai has tried to prove that Shivaji's aim was to establish a Hindu Empire for the whole of India, starting and gradually expanding from the Deccan. But his arguments are not very convincing and the truth probably lies with the opinion of Sir J. N. Sarkar, who writes: "For one thing he never had peace to work out his political ideal. The whole of his short life was one long struggle with enemies, a period of preparation and not of fruition. All his attention was necessarily devoted to meeting daily dangers with daily expedients and he had not the chance of peacefully building up a well-planned political edifice. His record is incomplete and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement."[226]

In his private life, he was far in advance of his time. He was absolutely free from the vices of rulers of his time and possessed a high standard of morality. His devotion to his parents was proverbial. Sincerely religious from his very boyhood, he followed all through his life the lofty ideal held before him by his guru Ramdas and became the most powerful champion of Hinduism. An intensely busy political worker, Shivaji did not forget his Hindu religion for a moment, but after he had organised his government, he took measures to promote its interests and to make it an effective force in the making and strengthening of his nation state. He extended his patronage to learned Brahmans and ascetics and encouraged Vedic studies by granting stipends to scholars from distant

[226] *Ibid.*, pp. 492-93.

places. "One maund of rice was (annually) presented to a Brahman who had mastered one of the books of the Vedas, two maunds to a master of two books and so on."[227] Learned Brahmans were employed to find vernacular and classical synonyms for foreign (Persian) words that had gained currency during Muslim rule in the Peninsula, and their labours produced the compilation entitled the *Raja-vyavahara-Kosha.*

"Religion remained with him an ever-fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity; it did not obsess his mind or harden him into a bigot." He was tolerant of other faiths, venerated Muslim saints and granted lands and annuities to Muslim shrines.[227a] Even Khafi Khan, who regarded him as a "hell-dog," writes: "But he made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the woman of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kuran came into his hands he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mussalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty."[228] The same hostile critic equally praises his respect for women and strict enforcement of morality in his camp, and writes: "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment."[229]

Shivaji was succeeded by his eldest son Shambhuji who, though endowed with bravery, was a man of loose character

227 *Ibid.*, p. 474.

227a Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

228 Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 260.

229 *Ibid.*, p. 305.

and spent his days in merrymaking while he ought to have strengthened the position of the Marathas. When Aurangzeb was engaged against Bijapur and Golkunda, Shambhuji's men only raided some parts of the Mughal territory, but the "Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought plan for diverting the Mughals from the sieges of Bijapur and Golkunda and averting their fall. Indeed, while he was sunk in pleasure, his government was hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plot among his courtiers."[230] After the conquest of the two Deccan Sultanates, Aurangzeb turned his attention seriously to the Marathas, and captured several of their forts, while Shambhuji moved to Sangameshwar, twenty-two miles north-east of Ratnagiri City, where he wasted precious time carelessly in drinking and revelry. But he was soon roused from his fairy dreams when the Mughal general Muqarrab Khan made a surprise attack, and captured Shambhuji with his friend Kavi-Kulesh and twenty-five of his chief followers with their wives and daughters. The prisoners were brought to the imperial camp at Bahadurgarh amidst great rejoicings of the imperialist officers, and they were presented to the Emperor in the following manner:

"Four miles outside the encampment, Shambhuji and Kavi-Kulesh were dressed as buffoons with long fool's-caps and bells placed on their heads, mounted on camels, and brought to Bahadurgarh with drums beating and trumpets pealing. Hundreds of thousands of spectators lined the roads, to gaze at Shambhu as at a new kind of wild beast or demon. Thus degraded, the captives were slowly paraded through the entire camp and finally brought to the Emperor who was sitting in full *darbar* for the occasion. At the sight of the prisoner, Aurangzeb descended from his throne and kneeling down on the carpet bowed his head to the ground in double thankfulness to the Giver of this crowning victory. After he had looked at them, the captives were removed to prison."[231]

230 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 396.

231 *Ibid.*, pp. 401-2.

According to Ishwardas,[232] the Emperor sent Ruhullah Khan to know from Shambhuji where he had concealed his treasures and which of the imperial officers had intrigued with him. Being unable to tolerate this disgrace, Shambhuji scurrilously abused the Emperor and asked the hand of one of his daughters as the price of his friendship. When the purport of this speech was reported to the Emperor, he decided to do away with the Maratha king. Shambhuji and his followers were horribly tortured and then put to death on 11th March, 1689, with more than Assyrian brutality, "their limbs being hacked off one by one and their flesh thrown to the dogs."[233] Their heads stuffed with straw were exposed to public gaze in all the chief cities of the Deccan. Many of the Maratha forts now fell quickly into the hands of the Mughals. Soon after this an imperial army under Itiqad Khan reduced the Maratha capital Raigad and captured Shambhuji's family including his infant son Sahu (who was carefully brought up in the Mughal camp and harem). But Rajaram, a son of Shivaji by another wife and now the acknowledged head of the Maratha State, escaped in the guise of a Yogi and betook himself to the fort of Jinji in the Karnatak.

These reverses did not, however, seriously damp the spirit of the Marathas ; they quickly recovered and began to strike at the Mughal power once again. Shivaji's work survived the test of crushing adversity, and the new nation proved stronger than his dynasty. At Jinji, Rajaram devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. "Jinji became a centre of Maratha enterprise in the east coast, while their ministers (notably Ramchandra Pant) left at home organised resistance to the Mughals in the west. The difficulties of Aurangzeb were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there

232 *Ibid.*

233 *Ibid.*, p. 403.

was no Maratha government or state-army for him to attack and destroy."[234]

It was from 1690 that the Marathas began to win victories. Two Mughal generals of high rank were defeated and captured, the siege of Jinji could not be effectively pushed on, Prince Muiz-ud-din's efforts to wrest Panhala from the Marathas ended in failure (1691—94), and by the end of 1695 Santaji defeated two other first-rate Mughal generals, Qasim Khan and Himmat Khan, who lost their lives. Thus by the end of 1695, the contest of the Mughals with the Marathas was " no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal Empire and the indigenous people."[235] Aurangzeb realised the gravity of the situation, and settled at Islampuri in anticipation of a prolonged struggle. From 1695—99 the roving bands of the Marathas under Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav carried on their raids with such bewildering rapidity and vehemence that the prestige and strength of the Mughals was seriously weakened. Many of the Mughal local officers bought their safety by paying the *chauth* to the Marathas without any imperial sanction, while some of them joined with the enemy for enriching themselves by plundering their own Emperor's subjects. A house divided against itself cannot stand for a long time. As Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: " The Mughal administration had really dissolved, and only the presence of the Emperor with all his troops in country held it together, but it was now a delusive phantom. Santa and Dhana were the heroes of this period ; the initiative lay entirely with them, and they upset every plan and calculation formed by the imperialists."[236] The Mughals achieved only one important success. Jinji, which had stood a siege for nearly eight years (1690—98), was at last captured by Zulfiqar Khan in January 1698. But Rajaram escaped before the capture and proceeded safely to the Maratha country whence he had fled eight years ago. At Satara he organised a new

234 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 8.

235 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

236 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

state-army consisting of the veteran troopers, *silahdars* and *bargirs* of Shivaji's time, brought all the Maratha generals under his banner, and with their help levied *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from Khandesh, Berar and Baglana.

On the 19th October, 1699, Aurangzeb, then an old man of eighty, left Islampuri with the object of conducting the operations against the Marathas in person, as he now realised the consequences of internal quarrels and mutual jealousies among his generals ;[237] but he was now too old to successfully lead a campaign. In the month of December the imperialists besieged Satara but met with a heroic resistance from the garrison. All the efforts of the imperialists to storm the fort failed ; but the death of Rajaram in 1700 changed the situation and his minister Parashuram now made peace with the Emperor, handing over the fort of Satara to the Mughals. Besides this they captured the famous fort of Torna (1704) by assault, while the forts of Parli (1700), Panhala (1701), Khelna (1702), Kondana (1703), and Rajgarh (1704) capitulated each for a price. Rajaram was succeeded by his natural son Karna who died of small-pox after a reign of three weeks. Tara Bai Mohite, the dowager-queen, then crowned her own legitimate son Shivaji III, a minor, and acted as the Regent. She was a woman of masterful spirit and guided the destiny of the Maratha nation at a very critical moment. Even the hostile critic Khafi Khan has admitted that she was a " clever, intelligent woman, and had obtained reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters."[238] She organised the administration, and held together the discordant elements in the state such as the quarrels between the supporters of rival claimants to the throne (*viz.*, the party of Tara Bai and her son, the party of Rajas Bai, the junior wife of Rajaram and the mother of Shambhuji II, and the party which upheld the cause of Shahu) and the personal rivalries among the Maratha generals. Khafi Khan has observed about the efficiency of her organisation that

237 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

238 Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 367.

" she took vigorous measures for ravaging the imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six Subahs of the Deccan as far as Sironj, Mandisor and the Subahs of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign the power of the Marathas increased day by day" They divided all the districts (parganas) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subahdars* (provincial governors), *kamaishdars* (revenue collectors) and *rahdars* (toll-collectors).[239]

With all his efforts, Aurangzeb failed to subdue the spirit of the Marathas or to conquer their country. By 1703 the Marathas became practically masters of the situation in the Deccan and even in adjacent parts of Northern India, and their resources increased through raids and robbery. A change also came over their tactics. As Manucci saw in 1704, " These (Maratha) leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughal commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. They carry these to secure some repose from time to time. In short they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mughals only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion. In those days their arms were only lances and long swords two inches wide. Armed thus, they (used to) prowl about on the frontiers, picking up here and there what they could ; then they made off home again. But at the present time they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughal troops." In 1703 a part of the Marathas entered Berar (now for a century a Mughal province), and in 1706 they invaded Gujrat and sacked Baroda. In April or May 1706 a vast Maratha army threatened the Emperor's camp at Ahmadnagar. Thus when the prestige and power of the Timurid Empire were dwindling away the Marathas remained unsubdued and seven years after the death of

[239] *Ibid.*, p. 374.

Aurangzeb began a strong Maratha revival under the Peshwas.

Decay is the doom of all states as of all men. The Timurid Empire, with all its power and glory, diappeared in course of time, and the Marathas also failed to build up an enduring national empire. Mr. Sardesai has rightly pointed out that religion and caste cannot be regarded as the chief cause of the downfall of the Marathas. The real cause lay elsewhere. As in almost all autocracies, the Maratha Empire was not based on an all-sided development from below. A government cannot be held long by sheer force or plunder ; in order to be stable and permanent it must have its component parts properly developed and fairly balanced. But in the Maratha State, as Sir J. N. Sarkar observes : " There was no attempt at well-thought-out organised communal improvement, spread of education, or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen."[240] The spiritual force underlying the Maratha State had a strong element of hatred and destruction, born, it is true, of another hatred and destruction ; and comparative permanence in the changeful world belongs only to constructive efforts broad-based on goodwill. Political development is also greatly dependent on the soundness of finances in a state. But in the Maratha kingdom trade and industry could not properly flourish and this was dangerous for a country where the soil was sterile and agriculture dependent on scanty or precarious rainfall. Occasional raids satisfied their temporary needs but no arrangements were made for providing the state with permanent sources of revenues. Besides these, the recrudescence of feudalism after the death of Shivaji undid his nation-building work and hastened the process of disintegration. The Maratha jagirdars forgot their

240 *Shivaji*, pp. 485-86.

national interests, established themselves as independent despots, states within the state, and entered into a scramble for power and wealth. Lastly, no nation that would rise can afford to cultivate virtues alien to honesty or truthfulness. The Marathas committed a sad mistake in relying too much on finesse or intrigue. " Shivaji, and to a lesser extent Baji Rao I preserved an admirable balance between war and diplomacy. But the latter-day Marathas lost this practical ability. They trusted too much to diplomatic trickery as if empire were a pacific game of chess. Military efficiency was neglected, war at the right moment and in the right fashion was avoided, or worse still, their forces were frittered away in unseasonable campaigns and raids conducted as a matter of routine, and the highest political wisdom was believed to consist in raj-karam or diplomatic intrigue."[241]

SECTION VI

Relations of the Mughals with the Sikhs, the Jats, the Bundelas and the Satnamis

The birth of the Sikh community belongs to that period of popular reformation which began with the dismemberment of the Pathan Empire. Nanak, the founder of this sect, was born in 1469 at Talwandi (modern Nankana), about thirty-five miles south-west of Lahore in the Sarkarpur subdivision of the Lahore district. His father Kalu was a village accountant of the Khatri caste.[242] Being of a pious disposition from his boyhood, Nanak was little fitted for worldly occupations, and giving up

241 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, p. 489. For other points, *vide* Vol. II, Part I, pp. 53-54.

242 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 73. Cunningham (p. 49) writes that Nanak's father was a " petty trader in his native village." In the *Seir-ul-mutakherin* (Briggs' translation, Vol. I, p. 110), his father is mentioned as a grain merchant and in the *Dabistan* (Vol. II, p. 247) himself as a grain factor.

his post under Daulat Khan Lodi, he took to a life of religious travel and preaching. He believed in the existence of one true living God and exhorted his followers to conduct themselves in such a way as to realise that existence. He " adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitory transmigrations should have ceased."[243] He insisted on the common truth of all religions, and held that salvation could be attained through good action and uprightness of conduct. He denounced the Brahmans and Mullahs and attached no value to the external elements of religion. The chief features of his system were " its non-sectarian character "[244] and its harmony with secular life. " This liberality of mind, devotion to the essence of religion, and contempt for wealth and power continued to mark the Sikh Gurus throughout the sixteenth century, from Nanak to Arjun the fifth Guru. Their saintly lives won the reverence of the Mughal emperors and they had no quarrel either with Islam or the state."[245] At the time of his death in 1538 (at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar Doab) Nanak nominated one of his disciples named Lahina, a Tihun Khatri, to whom he had given the name of Angad, as his successor, excluding his two sons, who were of bigoted nature. Angad remained true to the principles of his great teacher and died in 1552 having named Amardas, a Bhalla Khatri, as his successor. Amardas died in 1574 leaving as his successor his son-in-law Ramdas. He was held in esteem by Akbar, who granted him a piece of land on which he enlarged and improved the pool of Amritsar and constructed a temple called the *Har-mandar*. A town soon grew up round the pool and the shrine and became the spiritual centre of the Sikh community. He died in 1581 and was succeeded by his son Arjun.

From this time the Guru's office became hereditary ; the " Guru was credited with superhuman powers ; he was invested with regal pomp, and man-worship began to infect the

243 Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 54.

244 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 11 and 13.

245 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 305.

Sikhs."[246] Arjun was also the first Guru to interfere in politics. The early Gurus depended on the 'fluctuating voluntary offerings of their predecessors;' but Arjun sent a band of collectors called *masands* to every city where there was a Sikh for collecting the tithes and offerings of the faithful and these were sent to the central treasury at Amritsar. He also engaged in trade. He became something like a temporal king and surrounded himself with courtiers and ministers. "Altogether he is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Punjab."[247] He compiled the Ādi Granth, or 'the First Book,' as the original Sikh scripture is called, by selecting verses from the compositions of his four predecessors as well as from those of "the followers of the principal Indian saints, Hindu and Muhammadan since the days of Jaideo."[248] He was perhaps right in sympathising with and helping the rebel Prince Khusru, the idol of the people, a man of character and culture with a liberal attitude to all religions. But the ill success of the prince brought down the wrath of the Mughals on the Sikhs now for the first time; Guru Arjun's property was confiscated, and he was thrown into prison and tortured to death in 1606. Jahangir's attitude towards the Sikhs was a clever mixture of punishment for treason and religious persecution.

The death of Guru Arjun highly exasperated the Sikhs and turned them into enemies of the Mughal Empire. The next Guru Har Govind was almost necessarily a man of warlike and adventurous spirit, and he turned the Sikhs into a military community. But at this early stage their hostility to the empire was not fully and openly manifested. Thus Har Govind took service under Jahangir; but he incurred the displeasure of the Emperor by appropriating the pay of his soldiers and refusing to pay the fine originally imposed on but not paid by Guru Arjun, and was therefore kept as a prisoner in the fortress of

[246] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[247] Irvine, Vol. I, p. 76.

[248] Macauliffe, Vol. III, p. 60.

Gwalior for twelve years (1615—27). Shahjahan also employed him, but by this time religion had become the accepted cause for hostilities, and soon he revolted against Mughal authority. Though he gained some successes at first and defeated an imperial army at Sangrama, near Amritsar (1628), he was ultimately forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645 after nominating his younger grandson Hari Rai, as his successor. "To the end of his life, his conduct partook as much of the military adventurer as of the enthusiastic zealot."[249] "During the ministry of Har Govind, the Sikhs increased greatly in numbers and the fiscal policy of Arjun, and the armed system of his son, had already formed them into a kind of separate state within the empire."[250] Nothing important happened in the time of the next two Gurus, Hari Rai (1645—61) and Har Krishan (1661—64).

After some disputes about the succession, Teg Bahadur, second son of Har Govind the sixth Guru, was recognised as (the ninth) Guru by most of the Sikhs. On his appointment, Teg Bahadur settled at Anandpur, six miles from Kiratpur. For some unexplained reasons he went to Patna where he lived for a few months and his son Govind was born (1666). He accompanied Raja Ramsingh (son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh) to the Assam war (1668) but in a few years he returned to Upper India and took up his abode once again at Anandpur. His disciples called him '*Sacha Padshah*' or the "True Emperor" as if by way of a challenge to the Mughal Emperor. He was soon "drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution."[251] He protested against Aurangzeb's attacks on Hinduism and encouraged the Hindus of Kashmir to resist their forcible conversion to Islam.[252] This drew upon him the wrath of the Emperor, who summoned him to Delhi and asked him to

249 Cunningham, p. 71.

250 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

251 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, p. 312.

252 Khafi Khan says: "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (masands) for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities."

embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then put to death (1675). According to another story, he was asked to accept Islam or to prove his Guruship by exhibiting miracles. He preferred the latter alternative and wrote a charm on a piece of paper, which, he said, would protect his neck from harm. When the executioner's blow severed his head, there was found written on the paper the words: *Sir dia sar na dia,* i.e., he had given his head but not his secret.[253]

Thus, Teg Bahadur died a martyr in the cause of his religion and his followers began to burn with indignant revenge. Soon they found a leader in the tenth and the last Guru, Govind Singh, the only son of Teg Bahadur and of whom it had been prophesied before his birth that " he would convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks." With strong determination to avenge the death of his father and to fight the proselytising zeal of the fanatical Emperor, he turned his attention towards organising the necessary military force. Open war between the Sikhs and Islam could not be prevented any longer (a curious fate of Nanak's movement for Hindu-Moslem unity), and " in the heart of a powerful empire " Guru Govind " set himself to the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire."[254] The ceremony of initiation (*Pahul*) introduced by him consisted in the drinking of consecrated water stirred by a double-edged dagger. Caste system was abolished and the members of the brotherhood took part in a ceremonial dinner. Guru Govind " transformed the outward forms and ceremonies to a very great extent. But such philosophical basis as the religion had, remained in theory unchanged; though, in practice, the common people soon reconstructed for themselves a personal god."[255] The brotherhood organised by him came to be known as the *Khalsa* and he asked its members to abstain from tobacco and to wear the

253 Cunningham, p. 81. ' Sir dia din na dia ' is another version.

254 *Ibid.*, p 84.

255 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 80.

'five K's,' *kesh* (long hair), *kachchha* (short drawers), *kankan* (iron bangles), *kripan* (a dagger or sword) and *kangha* (comb). He also compiled a supplementary *granth*, known as the *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, the Book of the Tenth Sovereign.

Nanak's ideal of winning the kingdom of heaven by 'holy living and holy dying' was replaced by more material ideals in the time of Guru Govind. "Mother dear," said Govind, "I have been considering how I may *confer empire* on the Khalsa;" and again, "I shall make men of all four castes lions and destroy the Mughals." He lived in a prince's state, organised an army, built hill-forts and began open hostility against Islam. From 1695 he fought successfully against the hill-rajahs of the North Punjab as well as with Mughal officers and semi-independent local Muslim chiefs. Large imperial forces were sent from Sarhind to suppress the Guru. He succeeded in baffling their attempts for some time, but was ultimately defeated. Two of his sons fell into the hands of the *faujdar* of Sarhind and were executed with great cruelty and the Guru himself spent his days as a fugitive. The imperialists continued the pursuit, but he repulsed them at a place since called Muktesar or 'the Pool of Salvation.'[256]

When Aurangzeb's end was drawing near, he summoned Guru Govind to his presence by promising him an honourable reception. The Guru proceeded to meet him in the south, but on his way received the news of his death (1707). He is said to have helped Bahadur Shah in his fight for the throne and accompanied him to the Deccan, where also he fought for him, but was stabbed to death (1708) by an Afghan fanatic. He nominated Banda as his military successor, but apprehending that disputes might arise about the *Guruship*, he abolished it and entrusted the spiritual headship of the Sikhs to a 'panchayat' of his surviving disciples saying "I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Where there are five Sikhs of mine assembled they shall be priests of all priests,"—a piece of reform almost Calvinistic in its democratic attitude.

256 Cunningham, p. 100.

Aurangzeb's policy of "rooting out idolatry" and of vigorous persecution of the followers of other sects provoked the Jats of Mathura to open rebellion. Abd-un-Nabi Khan, who was *faujdar* of Mathura from August 1660 to May 1669, was a trusted officer of the Emperor and was regarded by him as "a religious man." Soon after accepting office, he built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-62) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. In 1666 he forcibly removed the carved stone-railing presented by Dara Shikoh to Keshav Rai's temple. The temple was completely destroyed three years later, and a mosque built on its site ; its idols were placed beneath the steps of Nawab Begum Sahib's mosque at Agra, and Mathura was ordered to be called Islamabad officially. In 1669 the Jat peasantry rose under the leadership of Gokla, the zamindar of Tilpat, killed the *faujdar* in open battle, plundered the *pargana* of Sadabad and carried lawlessness to other districts. This excited the Emperor's wrath, who sent several generals against the Jats and himself proceeded to the affected area. The imperialists defeated the Jats in a place about twenty miles from Tilpat and Gokla was captured with his family and 7,000 followers. The Mughals suffered a casualty of 4,000 men while the Jats lost 5,000 men. Gokla's "limbs were hacked off one by one on the platform of the police office of Agra, his family was forcibly converted to Islam."[257]

But the trouble did not disappear with the death of Gokla. As late as March, 1670, Hassan Ali Khan, the new *faujdar* of Mathura was "engaged in enslaving and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, extirpating their families, and dismantling their strong (mud) forts."[258] The Jats rose in revolt for the second time in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram, who became so audacious that he plundered and desecrated Akbar's tomb at Sikandra in the suburbs of Agra (1688). Raja Ram was defeated and slain, and the principal stronghold of the Jats was reduced in 1691. But they now found a more

257 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 294.

258 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 295.

efficient leader in Churaman who, with his headquarters at Sansani, carried on armed resistance on a large scale till the end of Aurangzeb's reign, and could not be subdued by his decadent successors.

Aurangzeb's policy of studied affront to Hindu princes and peoples by wholesale temple-breaking gave birth to another armed protest,—by the Bundelas. The Bundelas, a clan of the Gaharwar Rajputs, settled in the tract which derived the name of Bundelkhand from them, were protected from the full force of the imperial chastisement by the ' dense forests, the rapid streams, and the steep hills of Central India,' and for about two centuries they controlled more or less effectually the region separating the Doab from Gondwana. Bir Singh Deo, the head of the Bundelas, had openly revolted against Akbar (1602) and shrewdly joined the rebel prince Salim, at whose instigation he murdered Abul Fazl. The utmost efforts of Akbar to punish Bir Singh Bundela for his crime and treason failed, as the latter took recourse to guerilla tactics of warfare so suitable for the Bundela land.

Champat Rao rebelled against Aurangzeb during the early part of his reign but was hard pressed by the Emperor and escaped imprisonment by committing suicide. He left behind him four sons, the fourth of whom named Chhatrasal " lived to defy the imperial government with success." Though a boy of eleven at the time of his father's death he soon rose into prominence. After repeated entreaties, he and his elder brother Angad were employed by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh in his own contingent, and were promoted to higher ranks (1665) in recognition of their services at the siege of Purandar in the campaign against Shivaji. They then accompanied Jai Singh in his invasion of Bijapur ; and Chhatrasal was next employed by Dilir Khan in the Mughal attack against Deogarh. But soon he felt that his services were not being properly recognised by the Mughal Government, and " dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence in imitation of Shivaji, which meant a defiance of the Mughal Government."[259] Aurangzeb's

[259] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 393.

fanaticism led the discontented Hindu population of Bundelkhand and the adjoining province of Malwa to hail Chhatrasal "as the champion of the Hindu faith and Kshatriya honour" (1671). He gained many victories over the Mughals, and finally carved out an independent principality for himself in Eastern Malwa with its capital at Panna. His life ended in 1731 "wih the complete effacement of Mughal rule in Bundelkhand."[260]

Another rebellion against Aurangzeb's religious policy was started by the Satnamis, who were originally an inoffensive sect of Hindu worshippers so called from their devotion to the name of the true God (Satya-Nama), and they also got the nickname of *mundiyas* as they affected shaven heads. Khafi Khan writes of them: "These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of 'Good name,' this being the meaning of *satnam*. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If anyone attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons or arms."[261] Narnol (in Patiala, East Punjab), and Mewat (Alwar region) were their chief centres, religious at first, military subsequently.

The immediate cause of their rising was however a pin-prick of despotism: a Satnami cultivator was murdered by a Mughal foot-soldier (*piada*). The infuriated Satnamis of the neighbourhood delaboured the soldier till he seemed dead, and then broke out into open rebellion. "The quarrel soon took on a religious colour and assumed the form of a war for the liberation of the Hindus by an attack on Aurangzeb himself."[262] The *faujdar* of Narnol came forward to meet them but was routed and fled away. When the situation became serious, the Emperor sent a large force, under Radandaz Khan and

260 *Ibid.*, p. 391.

261 Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 294.

262 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 297.

other generals of high rank, which defeated the Satnamis and suppressed the outbreak by sweeping massacres.

SECTION VII

Rajput Policy of the Mughal Emperors

The battle of Kanwah (1527) did by no means completely destroy the Rajput power in the North, just as the battle of Talikota (1565) did not result in the total eclipse of Hindu dominion in the South.[263] The momentum of the Hindu revival (begun two centuries ago) persisted, and broke into another manifestation in the latter half of the seventeenth century. After the defeat of 1527, the Rajputs remained as a powerful military and ruling race, and even Sher Shah could overcome some of them not in fair fight but by treachery. They would presently have again raised their heads as serious adversaries of the newly-established Timurid Empire, but for the temporary spread of liberal ideas into the field of politics from that of religion. A ruler of India could allow such an important part of its population to remain hostile only at his own risk and no empire could be safe and long-standing without their intelligent and active co-operation. Akbar, in whom liberalism and statecraft were finely blended, realised the importance of this factor in the history of India. His first and foremost desire was to build up a new empire for a foreign dynasty with few friends in the country, and he was careful not to sacrifice his chances for the sake of religious orthodoxy.[264] The Rajputs were known to the Mughals from the very beginning for their military prowess and valour, and Akbar rightly thought[265] that if their hostility was dangerous their alliance would be highly valuable

263 *Vide* the Section on 'The Deccan in Relation to the Mughal Empire.'

264 So also his father had adopted Shia-ism for the sake of recovering his lost dominion.

265 Here was Babar's failure, that he could not enlist Rajput support; Humayun also failed equally.

for him and their willing submission was necessary for th integrity of his empire. So he tried, as far as possible, t turn the Rajputs into honourable allies of the empire b friendly persuasion.

In 1562 when Akbar was going on a pilgrimage to the tom of Khwaja Muinuddin Chisti, midway between Agra an Ajmer, Bihari Mall, the Kachwaha Raja of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar and their friendship was cemented by a matrimonial alliance. The Raja's daughter, who was marrie to Akbar at Sambhar, received the title of Mariyam Zamani, and she became afterwards the mother of Jahangir. Bihari Mall, with his son Bhagwan Das and grandson Man Singh, went to Agra, where he received a command of 5,000, and his son and grandson (who were destined to play important parts during the reign of Akbar) were also admitted to the rank of army officers. This marriage alliance, remarks Dr. Beni Prasad, " symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics ; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns ; it secured to four generations of Mughal emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediæval India produced."[266]

But Mewar, where the Rajput spirit appeared ' in its very quintessence ' and which had so long offered powerful resistance to the foreign Turkish empires of Delhi, and to the founder of the Timurid dominion in India, could not think of acknowledging the overlordship of Akbar. On the other hand Akbar's conception of an Indian Empire hardly fitted in with the independence of a neighbouring chief, who was " proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court ; " and as the highways of commerce between the Jamna-Ganges Doab and the ports on the west-coast passed through Mewar or close by her boundaries, the economic interests of the Delhi Empire required some real control over it[267] if not its complete absorption. Besides, the Rana of Mewar had given offence to Akbar

[266] *Jahangir*, p. 2.

[267] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 324.

by harbouring Baz Bahadur, the fugitive king of Malwa, and by helping the rebellious Mirzas. Abul Fazl says that Shakti Singh, a son of the Rana of Mewar, who had fled from his father in anger, attended Akbar's camp at Dholpur, when the Emperor remarked to him in jest that " though most of the landholders and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rana had not done so, and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him." The Mewar prince returned home and reported what he had heard to his father. So " the Shahanshah's wrath was stirred up, and jest became earnest." He proceeded against Mewar in September 1567, and on 20th October, 1567, arrived near the fort of Chitor and encamped in the surrounding plains. To the advantage of the Mughals, Mewar was then ruled by Udaya Singh, an unworthy son of the great Sanga. " Well had it been for Mewar," writes Tod, " had the poinard fulfilled its intentions, and had the annals of Mewar never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes." On the approach of the Mughals he " shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and hid himself in distant forests " leaving his capital Chitor to its fate. But it was ably defended by Jaimall and Putta, whose names are, as Tod notes, " household words in Mewar and will be honoured while the Rajput retains a shred of his inheritance or a spark of his ancient recollections." The Rajput clansmen, in spite of the discouragement of their king's flight, fought on bravely till 23rd February, 1568, when Jaimall was shot by Akbar himself. On the loss of their leader the Rajputs performed the rite of Jauhar, sallied forth to battle, and courted death in action: " eight thousand Rajputs (Putta's force) vowed to death sold their lives as dearly as possible and perished to a man."[268] The victorious Akbar entered the historic fort, and perpetrated needless atrocities: 30,000 citizens were massacred, the unique equipments of the fort were dismantled and removed to Agra, as also those of the temple of the Mother-goddess of Chitor, and the entire capital became a heap of ruins.

[268] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 89.

The fall of Chitor disheartened the rest of Rajput clans, and in the course of the next year the strong fortresses of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar were surrendered, and the rulers of Bikaner and Jaisalmer paid their homage to the Emperor and gave their daughters in marriage to him. Rajasthan came to be reckoned as a Mughal Subah with headquarters at Ajmer.

But Mewar did not stoop yet. Udaya Singh was not brave enough to face a Mughal army, but he had at least enough sense of honour not to sell his freedom and to prefer a solitary, fugitive career to a foreign imperial favour. After his death, Mewar found a worthy leader in his son Pratap Singh, the quintessence of Rajputana, whose selfless devotion to his motherland and heroic struggle for its independence against the mighty Timurid Empire, have won for him a unique place in Indian history. Undaunted in the midst of adversities, optimistic even after repeated defeats, some of them severe as at Gogunda or Haldighat (1576), the unbending Sisodia continued to fight the Mughal with unequal forces and resources till the end of his life ; but before he closed his eyes, he had the satisfaction of having kept the honour and freedom of his race unsullied and of having recovered most of his strongholds, though his beloved Chitor remained in ruins in the hands of Akbar. Akbar subsequently sent Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar in 1599 in the time of Rana Pratap's son Amar Singh. Man Singh defeated the Rana and decastated his country ; but he had to cut short his campaign as his presence was demanded in Bengal for suppressing the rebellion of Usman Khan. Akbar had thought of invading Mewar once again but was prevented by illness and troubles in his last years from giving effect to his project.

A critical study of Akbar's treatment of the Rajputs shows that, though the outcome of his imperialistic motives, it was on the whole conciliatory and more generous and friendly than that of other Muslim rulers of India. He certainly made no scruples about ruthlessly destroying local independence however inoffensive or nobly championed. He fought for empire and glory as other Turks before him had done, but with this important difference that by his wise policy he made

many who would have fought him come over to fight for him. By nature incapable of religious fanaticism, and open to the influences of contemporary liberal thought, Akbar neither persecuted the Rajputs as infidel Hindus nor subjected them to the humiliation of being classed as political inferiors. Their admission to equal privileges with the Muslims secured their active co-operation with the empire, whose interests they served in various spheres, military, administrative, financial or literary and artistic, and thus contributed much towards the attainment of that political unity, efficiency of government, and cultural excellence, the like of which India had gained only once or twice before, in the days of the great Mauryas or the Guptas. As generals the Rajputs fought ungrudgingly for the empire side by side with the Mughals, and many of them being themselves lovers of art and literature increased the glory and splendour of Akbar's Court. Their presence (like the Rajput intermarriages) also furthered the mutual assimilation of thought and ideas between the Hindus and the Muslims in higher circles and the growth of a refined Indo-Muslim culture, which is one of the most important legacies of Mughal rule to India. Thus the new empire witnessed a grand fusion of diverse intellects and ideas, creeds and races, —which was made possible by the liberal tendencies of its founder himself and of the age in which he flourished.

Soon after his accession Jahangir adopted his father's policy towards Mewar and proceeded to complete the task left unfinished by him. He despatched a large force of 20,000 horse against Mewar under the command of Prince Parwez assisted by several other veteran officers, but nothing decisive was effected. Two years later Mahabat Khan was sent with a considerable force and obtained some success. But it was Prince Khurram who in 1613 reduced Rana Amar Singh to straits, and compelled him to negotiate for peace through his uncle Shubh Khan and his confidential officer Hari Das Jala. He agreed to recognise the supremacy of the empire and to send his son to the imperial court, but proposed personal exemption from attendance there. Jahangir accepted the terms gladly and unreservedly, as he writes: "My lofty mind

was always desirous, as far as possible, not to destroy the old families."[269] The Rana got back Chitor, but he was asked not to fortify or repair it. Thus, " Emperor Jahangir, to his infinite credit, adopted a most conciliatory policy towards the vanquished foe, abstaining from all interference in the internal politics of Mewar, fully respecting the Rana's sense of honour and his scruples about attendance at the Mughal Court, making no demands of matrimonial alliances."[270]

Though Shahjahan's reign saw the introduction of orthodox and reactionary religious considerations into the field of governance and politics, yet no very marked change appeared in his time in the relations between the empire and the Rajputs. Once, late in his reign (1654), the chief of Mewar re-fortified Chitor in violation of the previous treaty ; but Mughal power was stronger in the North than in the Deccan where Shivaji was successfully defying the empire and Bijapur ; and expedition under the command of the *Wazir* Saadullah Khan extorted an apology from the Rana for the presumption and dismantled the new additions. At court and in the imperial services, the Rajputs slowly lost the paramount position they enjoyed in the time of Akbar and the earlier part of Jahangir's reign, to Persian and other trans-Indus adventurers, whose numbers and influence increased from Nur Jahan's ascendancy onwards. The Rajput position was somewhat bettered towards the end of Shahjahan's reign owing to the patronage of the liberal Crown Prince Dara, but they lost a good opportunity of strengthening their power and influence, by failing to support Dara steadily and sincerely. Yet in the earlier part of Aurangzeb's reign Jai Singh of Amber and Jaswant Singh of Mewar were measures of the importance of the Rajputs to the empire. But soon Aurangzeb introduced a vicious change in the Rajput policy of the empire to the great prejudice of its true interests. He first got rid of the powerful Raja Jai Singh of Amber, related to the royal

269 R. and B., Vol. I, pp. 273-74. Here it is perhaps the Rajput blood in Jahangir that is speaking; ordinarily his ' lofty mind ' was under the cloud of the Persian outlook of his favourite queen and her folk.

270 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 244.

family, and one of the most efficient state officials, by securing his poisoning in the Deccan (1667), chiefly because he did not like his and his son Ram Singh's friendly attitude towards Shivaji, and regarded him as a potential leader of Hindu opposition against his policy of religious persecution (started soon after his death). Aurangzeb then turned to the next lofty head, Jaswant.

Besides strategic and economic considerations (of controlling certain military and commercial routes), Aurangzeb had a special reason for wanting to acquire the kingdom of Marwar. Its chief Jaswant Singh was the leading Hindu noble after the death or poisoning of Jai Singh of Amber (which was a great relief to the Emperor and left him free to work out his anti-Hindu policy). Aurangzeb now suspected that the Marwar chief, who was once a partisan of the pro-Hindu Dara Shikoh, and besides had often shown little regard for loyalty (as in the succession war of 1659 or in the Deccan campaign of 1667), might use any of his weaker or less orthodox prospective successors for his own purposes and pose as the champion of the Hindus against his policy. As Sir J. N. Sarkar observes: "It is clear that the success of his (Aurangzeb's) plan of the forcible conversion of the Hindus required that Jaswant's state should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular province of the empire. Hindu resistance to the policy of religious persecution must be deprived of a possible efficient head."[271]

While in command of the Mughal frontier posts in the Khyber and the Peshwar district (whither he had been transferred in disgrace after his failure or disservice in the Deccan) Jaswant died (or was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb, according to Tod and Manucci) on 10th December, 1678. The emperor immediately appointed Muslim officers as *faujdar, qiladar, kotwal* and *amin* of Marwar, and brought the whole country under direct Mughal rule, without much trouble, as the Rathors had been thrown into confusion and dismay by the death of Jaswant and failed at the moment to present

271 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 325.

a united national resistance. The imperial officers began a systematic demolition of the Hindu temples, and cartloads of idols taken from Jodhpur shrines were brought to Aurangzeb by Khan Jahan Bahadur and destroyed in a most insulting manner (May 1679); Indra Singh, the chieftain of Nagor and grandson of Jaswant's brother Amar Singh, was made the nominal Raja of Marwar on payment of a succession fee of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, and Mughal officers were retained with him. Thus apparently Aurangzeb's policy triumphed. But in fact Marwar was far from being subdued. Every Rajput house in Marwar stood like a fort against this *coup de main*, and " a new actor (Ajit Singh, the son of Jaswant) now entered the scene to disturb and eventually to defeat the imperial policy."[272]

In February 1679, two posthumous sons were born to Jaswant Singh at Lahore, one of whom died soon but the other named Ajit Singh was shortly taken to Delhi by his father's principal followers. The Rathor chiefs urged the Emperor to recognise the claims of Ajit Singh to the throne of Jodhpur. But the Emperor wanted to bring him up in his harem as a Mughal prince (a shrewd plan which he realised in the case of Shivaji's grandson Shahu ten years later), or according to another contemporary historian " the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim."[273] The Rathor chiefs were seized with consternation at this extraordinary proposal of the Emperor. Everything dear to them,—their religion, king and country,—was in danger, and they therefore vowed to die to a man rather than submit to the humiliating conditions. Fortunately for them, they found a worthy leader in Durgadas, ' the flower of Rathor chivalry ' to help them in this crisis.

Durgadas, a son of Jaswant's minister Askaran, in one of the immortal figures in the annals of the Rajputs. Gifted with extraordinary valour, he was religiously devoted to the royal house of Marwar. " Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal

272 *Ibid.*, p. 329.

273 *Ibid.*, p. 330.

arms could not daunt, that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rathors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organizing power of a Mughal minister of state."[274] When the Emperor commissioned a strong force to seize the Ranis and the infant, a band of "death-loving Rajputs" made a wild charge on it; in the confusion thus created, Durgadas escaped with Ajit and with the Ranis clad as soldiers. He covered nine miles before he was overtaken; a small band of Rajputs under Ranchordas Jodha tried to hold back the Mughal pursuers but were defeated; but Durgadas managed to baffle all their attempts and safely arrived with Ajit and the Ranis at Jodhpur on 23rd July, 1679. In order to defeat Durgadas' plans Aurangzeb set up a milkman's infant as the true Ajit, and declared that the boy whom Durgadas had carried off to the Marwar capital was a bogus prince; he also dethroned Indra Singh for his inability to "rule fifty thousand Rathor blades."

Aurangzeb now speedily despatched a large force against Marwar under the command of Prince Akbar and Tahawwur Khan, the *faujdar* of Ajmer, and himself proceeded to conduct the operations in person. The Rajputs were defeated and Marwar was divided into districts each of which was placed under a Mughal *faujdar*. "Jodhpur fell and was pillaged; and all the great towns in the plains of Mairta, Didwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, and mosques erected on their sites."[275]

But this wanton aggression and blind persecution forged an alliance between the desperate Rathors and the valiant Sisodias of Mewar. Since the time of Jahangir, the Rana of Mewar had remained friendly to the Mughal Empire, except on one occasion in the time of Shahjahan (1654). But now the forcible annexation of Marwar endangered the safety of Mewar as well. The Rana of Mewar was a near relative of Ajit as

274 *Ibid.*, pp. 331-32.

275 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 336.

his mother was a Mewar princess. Besides, Aurangzeb's increasing zeal for temple-breaking, on a large scale throughout the empire and its dependencies (begun in 1669 with Benares after Jai Singh's death), and the re-imposition of the *Jaziya* tax on non-Muslims after 115 years[276] roused the indignation of Rana Raj Singh, who had something of the spirit of Kumbha, Sangram and Pratap in him. Thus he deemed it his duty, from all points of view, to stand by the Rathors against the empire that had chosen to crush its supporters.

Aurangzeb thereupon invaded Mewar as well with a large army. Considering it useless to stand before the superior artillery of the Mughals, the Rana abandoned the plains and retired into the hills, leaving the towns and hamlets of Mewar bare of provisions and riches. The Mughals occupied Udaipur and destroyed 173 temples in its environs, sixty-three at Chitor, and sixty-six even in Jaipur which was not at war. Satisfied that he was piling successes in this way, Aurangzeb now left for Ajmer for a respite, placing Chitor in charge of Prince Akbar. But Mewar presented geographical difficulties, which only the Pathans (who were at that time long in revolt) could control, and were beyond the capacity of Mughal soldiers; and Prince Akbar also soon found himself outnumbered by the combined Rathors and Sisodias. The Rajputs, following the plan of Pratap and Shivaji (now a well-known hero), continued a guerilla warfare and harassed the Mughals in various ways. In May 1680, Prince Akbar was surprised by the Rajputs and suffered a heavy loss, a convoy of *Bunjaras* with 10,000 pack-oxen carrying provisions to his army being carried off. Faced with starvation the imperial army was completely demoralised. "Our army is motionless

[276] Either Raj Singh, or Shivaji (with the advice of Nil Prabhu Munshi),—or both in consultation,—drew up in this connection a long, dignified and well-reasoned protest against Aurangzeb's policy towards Rajputs and Hindu subjects, contrasting it with that of Akbar, and describing the evil effects of Aurangzeb's measures that had already become clear. This document was something like a Hindu ultimatum preceding the Rajput and Maratha wars that now began not to end even with Aurangzeb's death.

through fear," complained Prince Akbar. In Marwar also the Mughals achieved no better success than in Mewar.

Highly enraged at Prince Akbar's failure, the Emperor placed the command of Chitor in the hands of another son, Azam, and transferred Akbar to the Marwar front. But barren successes and narrow escapes from disaster (allowed by the unpractical military ethics of the Rajputs) were the share of all the princes employed, Akbar, Azam or Muazzam. Akbar was learning by the experience of the war the value of the Rajputs to the empire and their intrinsic worth as a heroic and honourable race ; he dreamed of reconciling them to the empire by securing the throne for himself with Rajput help ; and to realise that ambition (not an impolitic or unworthy one), he decided to enter into an alliance with the Rajputs against his father ; four theologians in his pay issued a decree over their seals, declaring that Aurangzeb had forfeited the throne by his violation of Islamic canon law."[277] He crowned himself Emperor 1st January, 1681, and gave high titles to his followers, his colleague in command, Tahawwur Khan, being created a premier noble and a commander of 7,000 horse. Aurangzeb, at that time almost destitute of troops, found himself in a critical position in his camp at Ajmer, and exclaimed: " I am now defenceless. The young hero has got a fine opportunity. Why then is he delaying his attack?" He first tried to win Akbar back by a letter full of promises and threats and violent abuse of the Rajputs. In reply Aurangzeb received a remarkably frank and reasoned ' grand remonstrance ' from the prince, justifying his apparent treason, defending and appreciating the Rajputs, denouncing the oppressive and corrupt administration of his father, and mercilessly analysing and illustrating his character in its shady sides. Aurangzeb quietly swallowed this second dose of remonstrance, criticism and sarcasm (the first had been administered two years ago by Shivaji and Raj Singh), and he coolly planned the discomfiture and ruin of his son by trickery. If instead of resting satisfied at having dealt a

[277] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

literary blow at the Emperor, Akbar had taken prompt advantage of the "fine opportunity" his shrewder father had discerned, he could easily have defeated the small imperial bodyguard at Ajmer and taken the emperor captive; but he spent his time in idleness and untimely pleasures, and thus gave Aurangzeb the opportunity of preparing for the defence of Ajmer; Prince Muazzam joined his father, and other reinforcements also arrived: Akbar's easy chance was gone. When he was after all ready to begin an attack, his plans were frustrated by his father's guile: Aurangzeb succeeded in getting Tahawwur Khan murdered, and sent a false letter to Prince Akbar congratulating him for the success he had hitherto gained in carrying out his father's stratagem of luring all the Rajput fighters into a snare and bringing them within easy reach of the Emperor. As arranged by him, the letter fell into the hands of Durgadas, and the simple Rajputs at first suspected Akbar of treachery. His cause was greatly weakened in Rajputana, most of his Muslim followers escaped towards Aurangzeb's camp, and Akbar himself had to flee for his life. The spell of distrust was however soon broken and Durgadas and Jai Singh (Raj Singh's successor) were convinced of his innocence and sincerity; but by that time the chances of the alliance had become remote; yet with commendable chivalry they gave him shelter from Aurangzeb's vengeance, and evading all the attempts of Muazzam and other Mughal generals to overtake him, the Rathor chief safely conducted the fugitive prince through Khandesh and Beglana to the court of Shambhuji the Maratha king,—repeating his earlier exploit of 1679. If Shivaji had lived for a few years more beyond 1680, the flight of Akbar to Maharashtra would have been the beginning of a new history of India; but Shambhuji, steeped in dissipation, was incapable of working out any great idea, and between Rajput simplicity and Maratha levity the dream of the great Akbar's namesake, of an empire based on Hindu-Muslim reconciliation and amity, remained an idle one. About six years later, the disappointed prince left India for ever and went to Persia, where he died in 1704,—not however before he had made a last attempt to win the Delhi

Empire by an invasion assisted by a Persian cavalry force 12,000 strong, which was repelled by Muazzam near Multan (April 1694).

"Akbar's rebellion failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought unhoped-for relief to the Maharana (of Mewar)": Prince Bhim Singh entered Gujrat, raiding Wadnagar, Vishalnagar and some other places, and the Rana's finance minister Dayaldas ravaged Malwa, sacked Dhar, and seized a number of imperial elephants, camels, horses and cattle. But in spite of these temporary successes, recalling the days of Rana Kumbha's exploits, the "material consequences" of the war "were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects," as the Mughals often ravaged their corn-fields in the open tracts, and reduced them to starvation. As for the Mughals, their sufferings and losses were also great and yet these could not bring them any success against the Rajputs. So both sides wanted peace which was concluded (June 1681) through the mediation of Prince Azam. The Rana ceded to the empire the *parganas* of Mandal, Pur, and Bednore, in lieu of the reimposed *jaziya*, and the Mughals withdrew from Mewar; Jai Singh was recognised as the Maharana and received a *mansab* of 5,000.

But Marwar had to carry on a "thirty years' war" (1679—1709) before it got peace on honourable terms. Shambhuji's activities in the Deccan diverted the attention of Aurangzeb and his principal commanders from the Rajput affairs, and "throughout the succeeding generation we find the Mughal hold on Marwar pulsating with the military situation in the Deccan. When a great enterprise or a heavy reverse forced the Mughals to draft more troops to the South, the Rajput nationalists sallied forth from their dens and struck heavy blows at the thinned Mughal outposts. When the pressure in the Deccan was relieved, reinforcements were pushed up into Rajasthan, and the Mughals recovered their lost positions." The Rathors continued a guerilla warfare under the able guidance of Durgadas and harassed the Mughals so much that some of their commanders were compelled to buy safety by paying *chauth* to them (as they did to the Marathas).

The war dragged on till August 1709, when, two years after Aurangzeb's death, Ajit Singh, born with the struggle, was acknowledged as the Rana of Marwar by Bahadur Shah.

The Rajput wars had ruinous effects on the Mughal Empire. They caused a heavy loss of men and money, and with all his efforts Aurangzeb failed to achieve any decisive success against two small revolted feudatory states. "Damaging as this result was to imperial prestige, its material consequences were worse still."[278] The devotion and valour of Rajput chieftains and soldiers were no longer available to the empire in its wasting struggles in the Deccan, or in its essential business of maintaining a strong hold over the frontier and trans-Indus provinces where the disaffected Afghan tribes were for long in a chronic state of revolt. The drying up of the stream of Man Singh's and Todar Mall's left the empire barren. Failure alike in war and in government "was the harvest that Jalal-ud-din Akbar's great-grandson reaped from sowing the wind of religious persecution and suppression of nationalities."

278 *Ibid.*, p. 373

PART II

Text-Book of Modern Indian History

CHAPTER I

ADVENT, EARLY PROGRESS AND RIVALRIES OF THE EUROPEAN TRADING NATIONS (1486—1744)

SECTION I

THE geographical discoveries of the last decade of the fifteenth century produced far-reaching consequences. Columbus discovered a new world ; Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or the Stormy Cape, as he called it, in 1488 ; Vasco da Gama found out a new route to an old world, and reached the famous port of Calicut on the 17th May, 1498. " Perhaps no event during the middle ages had such far-reaching repercussion on the civilized world as the opening of the sea route to India."[1]

India had commercial relations with the Western countries throughout her ancient history. But from the seventh century the Arabs began to control the sea-borne trade in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and carried the Indian goods to the West in their own vessels, and from them these goods were purchased by the merchants of Venice and Genoa. The discovery of Vasco da Gama brought Portugal, whose merchants had been for a long time anxious to share the advantages of Eastern commerce, into direct touch with India.

The Hindu ruler of Calicut, whose hereditary title was Zamorin, offered a friendly reception to Vasco da Gama and his party. On his return to Portugal, after an absence of two years, Vasco da Gama showed specimens of articles obtainable from the Calicut market to the merchants of Portugal and

1 Sir E. Denison Ross in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 1.

informed them about what wares liked by the people of the Malabar coast. On 9th March, 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral was sent out from Lisbon in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels. From this time the Portuguese came into direct conflict with the Muslim traders and the ruler of Calicut. They began to take part in the political intrigues of India, and entered into alliances with Zamorin's enemies, the chief of whom was the ruler of Cochin. This change was due to the consciousness of the Portuguese that to make full use of the enormous possibilities of trade it was necessary for them " to conciliate the local Indian rulers and drive away the Arab merchantmen." But the ruler of Calicut was favourably disposed towards the Arabs, to whom Calicut owed its prosperity, and some other Muslim states as well were sympathetic towards them.

Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese power in India. He came as the Governor of Portuguese affairs in India in 1509, and at the end of November 1510 he took possession of Goa. He tried to strengthen the fortifications of Goa, and to increase its commercial importance and, with a view to secure a permanent Portuguese population, he encouraged the Portuguese to marry Indian wives. His ruthless persecution of the Muslims was a great blot on his character.

His successors gradually founded a number of important settlements near the sea. They took possession of Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thome near Madras and Hugli in Bengal, and established their authority over the greater part of Ceylon. But in course of time they were deprived of most of those places, and at present they retain only Diu, Daman and Goa. They lost Hugli during the reign of Shahjahan and the Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739.

Though the earliest " intruder into the East," Portugal could not establish any permanent dominion in India. Their ultimate decline in India was due principally to five causes: (1) discovery of Brazil by Portugal; (2) religious intolerance; (3) lack of farsightedness among the Governors; (4) bad

trading methods; (5) rivalry of other European powers. The discovery of Brazil drew Portugal's colonising activities to the West. Religious intolerance of the Portuguese led them to destroy all Hindu temples in the island of Goa in 1540 under the orders of their king, and with the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in 1517 " Goa had become the centre of an immense propaganda."

SECTION II

The Dutch and the English attack upon Portuguese monopoly began almost about the same time. But the English East India Company lagged for many years behind the great United Company of the Netherlands. This Company was incorporated in 1602 for trading in the East. The English East India Company obtained in 1600 a royal charter granting them " the monopoly of commerce with the East." The Danes appeared in 1616. The French East India Company (Compagnie des Indes) formed under royal patronage in 1664 was to play an important part in the East. The Ostend Company started by the merchants of Flanders and formally chartered in 1722, had an important but a brief career in India. A Swedish East India Company came into being in 1631, but its trade was confined exclusively to China.

The object of all these merchant Companies was the same, and they appeared in the same field with a charter from their individual sovereigns; so a bitter contest among them was inevitable. These trading Companies did not confine themselves exclusively to commercial activities, but also formed designs of gaining territorial possessions, which added to the bitterness of the conflict. During the first half of the seventeenth century the contest was triangular between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English. The Anglo-French rivalry followed later, and the Dutch jealousy of English ascendancy in India was not extinguished at least before 1759.

The first Dutch fleet to round the Cape of Good Hope and visit the Malay Archipelago sailed from Holland in April 1595 and returned in 1597. The accomplishment of this voyage was a great encouragement to the Dutch, and "the pent-up enterprise of the Dutch commercial class burst forth as if a dyke had been cut." New Companies for Indian trade were started in several towns of Holland and Zeeland, but, all these were incorporated in the United East India Company of the Netherlands by the charter of March 20, 1602. The Dutch States-general, by the said charter, delegated powers of carrying on war, of concluding treaties, of possessing territories and of erecting fortresses, and thus "made the United Company a great instrument of war and conquest."

The Dutch captured Amboyna from the Portuguese in 1605 and gradually supplanted them in the Spice Islands. The Governor-General and the Council of the Indies was instituted in 1609, Pieter Both being the first Governor-General. His successor Jan Pietersoon Coen conquered Jacatra and founded Batavia on its ruins in 1619. They blockaded Goa in 1639, seized Malaca in 1641, and captured the last portuguese stronghold in Ceylon in 1658. By 1664 the Portuguese were ousted from most of their early settlements on the Malabar coast. In Ceylon, it became the policy of the Dutch (at least up to 1739) to maintain friendly relations with the nominal "emperor of Ceylon," who resided at Kandy, because the Dutch rule there "rested on a native officialdom, open to many influences of race and religion over which they had no control."[2] They also tried to remove the miseries of the people, due to Portuguese misrule and protracted war, by importing slaves from southern India for irrigation and agricultural works and by encouraging new crops like cotton and indigo.

It was pepper and spices, the produce of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas, that had drawn the Dutch to these islands, and so "the Archipelago was not only the strategic and administrative centre of their system, it was also their economic

[2] *Cambridge History*, p. 51.

centre."[3] But some interests brought them to India as well, where they established several factories on the Coromandel coast, in Gujrat and in Bengal.[4] The chief of these were Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Chinsura (1653), Cassimbazar, Patna, Balassore, Ber(a)nagore, Negapatam (1659), and Cochin (1663). These factories greatly helped the cause of Dutch commerce. As early as 1612, the Coromandel coast was described as " the left arm of the Moluccas and neighbouring islands, since without the cottons from thence trade is dead in the Moluccas."[5] They were now in fact the carriers of manufactures and produces between India and her former oversea colonies in the East. The port of Surat supplied them with indigo manufactured in Central India and Jamuna Valley in large quantities and they exported Bengal, Gujrat and Coromandel textiles and silk, Bihar saltpetre, rice and particularly Gangetic opium. Owing to the gradual decline of the Portuguese power and the growing superiority of the Dutch in the sea, the latter maintained a practical monopoly of spices trade in the East throughout the seventeenth century.

The peace between England and Spain, concluded in 1604, did not stop Anglo-Portuguese commercial rivalries in the East, though the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were united from 1580 to 1640. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton was prevented from entering the mouth of the Tapti river by a Portuguese fleet. The English also made counter-attacks in the succeeding years. By an alliance with the Shah of Persia, the English deprived the Portuguese of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1622 and were permitted to settle in Gombroom and to receive half the customs dues. The rivalry of the Portuguese began to decline from this time and the treaty of Madrid in 1630 forbade commercial hostilities between the two nations in the East.

3 Such an economic centre it had been in earlier Hindu-Buddhist periods also, when it formed Greater India.

4 In Bengal they established factories even in interior villages, as we know from Gangaram's *Maharastrapurana*, a Bengali work of the Mid-Eighteenth century, that the Marathas plundered the Dutch factories at Kagram (Murshidabad District) and Mowgram (in the Burdwan District).

5 Quoted in *Cambridge History*, p. 35.

This was followed in 1634 by a convention signed between Methwold, the English Factory President at Surat and the Viceroy of Goa, which "actually guaranteed commercial inter-relations between the English and the Portuguese in India." Portugal recovered her independence from the yoke of Spain, the traditional enemy of England, in 1640, and after this the English and the Portuguese entered into peaceful commercial relations with each other in the East Indies. By a treaty of July 1654 Portugal recognized the right of the English to trade in the East and Charles II, by the treaty of 1661, which gave him Bombay as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, promised to help the Portuguese in maintaining their possessions in India against the Dutch. In fact, the Portuguese did not continue hereafter as commercial rivals of the English in India. Their subsequent degeneration into piracy and robbery brought disgrace and ruin on themselves.[6] From traders many of them turned slave-runners, kidnappers and pirates; others took to the profession of 'topasses' or mercenary gunners, and yet others settled down as expert cooks or gay fiddlers. In the eighteenth century, the name of the Portuguese had become "indelibly associated with two great crimes, piracy and the slave trade,"[7] specially in Bengal.

It was from the Dutch that the English had to face more bitter commercial rivalry in the East throughout the seventeenth century. They claimed a monopoly of trade in the East by virtue of conquest from the Portuguese, and were very jealous of any competitor in the field. The Dutch policy in the East had two motives. One was revenge upon Catholic Spain and Portugal (which were united when the Dutch appeared in the East) for Spain's injustice on them in their own country (once subject to her). The other was that of establishing a monopoly in the trade of the East Indies by colonisation and

[6] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 245—249, 256—259. Mughal, British and Dutch hostility in the first half of the seventeenth century helped to bring about this degeneration, by depriving them of their trade and possessions.

[7] Long's *Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government*, Vol. I, Introduction, xxxvi.

settlement. By the early seventeenth century their first motive was achieved by the gradual decline of the Portuguese and their victories over them. It became too much for them to tolerate English competition in the path of realising their second motive. The Dutch drifted away from England after Elizabeth during the later Stuarts, owing to England's joining France, their oppressor, and the pro-Spanish policy of the Stuarts (and also during Cromwell),—so that the presence of the English in the Eastern waters could not be tolerated by the Dutch.

The Dutch at that time had a great advantage in their naval supremacy, and the conclusion of a twelve years' truce between Spain and Holland in 1609 left them more free than before to check the progress of English trade in the East Indies. Both the nations asserted priority of claim to the trade of the East Indies ; and their sea-captains resorted to open reprisals or covert acts of hostility. None of the conferences in London and at the Hague (1611 and 1613—15) could effect any settlement, and the proposals for uniting the two Companies ended in failure owing to the refusal of the English to share the heavy military expenditure of the Dutch.[8] In July 1619, due to the pressure exerted upon the English Company by James I, who wanted to be the peacemaker of Europe, the English came to terms with the Dutch. The English were rather grudgingly granted a share in the trade in return for their promise to give up all claims to compensation for past wrongs and to share a part of the military expenses of the Dutch. But this union lasted only for two years. In 1621 the English were forcibly driven out of Lantor and Pulo-Run. In 1623 the massacre of Amboyna, which " marked the climax of Dutch hatred " of the English in the eastern seas, destroyed all chances of compromise. Van Speult, the Dutch Governor of Amboyna, arrested Towerson, the English agent, with eighteen Englishmen and nine Japanese soldiers, and a Portuguese, on a concocted charge of conspiracy to surprise the

8 The Dutch policy of territorial aggrandisement was however later on, in 1685, adopted by the English East India Company, with well-known results.

Dutch fort on the 17th February. The charge was a false one as the "supposed plot was a mere figment of the imagination, if it were not a deliberate device to exterminate the English factory." The English and the Japanese prisoners were subjected to cruel tortures, and Towerson, with nine other Englishmen and nine Japanese, was put to death. This cruel massacre caused an outburst of indignation in England. But in spite of a great feeling of resentment and use of strong words by James I and Charles I England received no real reparations for thirty years till the time of Oliver Cromwell. By the treaty of Westminster in 1654 the question of claims and counter-claims was referred to four Commissioners, taken from both sides, sitting in London. By the decision of the Commissioners, the English got back Pulo-Run, a sum of £85,000 as indemnity for the Company, and £3,615 for the heirs of the victims of the Amboyna massacre. By the treaty of Breda in 1667, Pulo-Run and some other places were finally given over to the Dutch in return for the valuable colonial possession of New Amsterdam, renamed New York.

The English gradually turned their attention towards India leaving the Dutch secure in their dominion over the Spice Islands. The Dutch began to restrict their activities more and more to the Malay Archipelago and the English to concentrate more and more on India. The Dutch did not henceforth compete with the English for political power in India but their jealousy of English commerce in India subsisted. In the years 1672—1674 the Dutch constantly stopped communications between Surat and the new English settlement of Bombay, and captured three home-bound English ships in the Bay of Bengal.[9] When Prince Azim-us-Shan went to Burdwan in 1698 A.D., the Dutch chief of Chinsura, sent an agent to his camp representing that while his nation paid a duty of 3½ per cent on all their commerce, the English paid only 3,000 per annum. He therefore prayed that the Dutch might be put on the same footing as the English.[10] But over and above the commercial jealousy which continued even down to 1759 the

[9] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 56.
[10] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 385.

English Company in India had presently to measure its strength with the French, whose trading and political activities now developed considerably.

SECTION III

Three maritime powers had effected permanent settlements in India, before France entered into the race for commercial gains in the east. Yet " the desire for eastern traffic displayed itself at a very early period among the French."[11] In 1503, only five years after the Portuguese landing in India two ships fitted out by some Rouen merchants for trading in the Eastern seas, left the port of Havre, but nothing was heard of them afterwards. In July 1527 a Norman ship belonging to the Rouen merchants appeared at Diu.[12] In 1601 a company of St. Malo merchants sent two ships, which went up to the Maldives and Sumatra. New prospects appeared with the peaceful reign of Henry IV, and attempts were made to found a French East India Company. In 1616 two ships were fitted out and sent to the East, and on October 2, 1619, an expedition of three ships under the command of Beaulieu sailed from Harfleur and reached Achin in island of Sumatra. But these attempts of the French sailors received a considerable check from the Dutch, who strove to maintain their monopoly of Eastern trade.[13] For more than twenty years after this, the French made no attempts in this direction. It was Richelieu, who again took up the idea of commerce with the East, and under his auspices was founded the ' Societe de I'Orient ' in 1642. The Company, however, devoted all its resources to and exhausted all its energies in the colonisation of Madagascar, under the leadership of Pronis and Flacourt.

11 Malleson's *History of the French in India*, p. 5.

12 *Cambridge History*, p. 61.

13 In 1625 Issac de Razilly declared that " as regards Asia and the East Indies there is no hope of planting colonies, for the way is too long, and the Spaniards and Dutch are too strong to suffer it." Quoted in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 61.

But the exploits of some missionaries and travellers in reaching India, by a short-cut land route through Asia Minor, enhanced the desire of the French to share the profits of Eastern trade with the Dutch and the English. Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV, " became the interpreter of the unanimous desire of the merchants and mariners of the kingdom, as well as of those who desired its economic development," and at his proposal and inspiration the ' Compagnie des Indes Orientales ' was formed in 1664. This company received various privileges from the state, and it began its career with a capital of about 5,500,000 livres, including the 3,000,000 advanced by the king. Nevertheless its first movements were " neither well considered nor fortunate " because the Company spent much of its energies in fruitless endeavours to revive the colonies of Madagascar. But in 1667 another expedition sailed from France, under the command of Francis Caron,[14] who was accompanied by Marcara, a native of Ispahan.[15] Francis Caron founded the first French factory at Surat in 1668 ; and another factory was established at Masulipatam in 1669 through the efforts of Marcara, under a patent obtained from the King of Golkonda. In 1672 the French occupied San Thome, but in the following year their Admiral, de la Haye, was driven from Trincomali, and in 1674 the French were defeated by a combined force of the Dutch and the King of Golkonda (whose jealousy against the French had been excited by the Dutch), and had to surrender San Thome to the Dutch. In the meantime, Bellanger de Lespinay, one of the volunteers who had accompanied Admiral de la Haye, obtained from Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of the King of Bijapur in Tanjore and the Carnatic, a site for a factory eighty-five miles

14 Francis Caron, though of French origin, was born in Holland and spent many years in the service of the Dutch Republic. But later on he became dissatisfied with the Dutch, and tendered his services to Colbert.

15 From a recent letter of the Siamese King to the Bihar Shiah Conference, it becomes clear that the Persians in the middle of the seventeenth century were trading and settling in Siam; this period therefore saw some Persian maritime activity. Cf. also their driving out the Portuguese from Ormuz, evidently to recapture the trade between Persia and the Far East.

south of Madras. Thus the foundation of Pondicherry was laid in this modest fashion, and it was Francis Martin, who by his great courage, intelligence and perseverance developed it into a place of importance, " amid the clash of arms and the clamour of falling Kingdoms."[16]

In Bengal the French built a Factory at Chandernagore (1690—92, about the same time as Calcutta was founded by the English Company) on a site granted to them by Nawab Shaista Khan in 1674.

The outbreak of a war in Europe between the Dutch (supported by England) and the French reacted adversely on the fortune of the French in India. In 1693 the Dutch captured Pondicherry, which remained in their possession for six years, and they fortified it in various ways. But it was restored to the French by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, with its fortifications intact, but they did not actually get back its possession till 1699. Martin who was again appointed to the command of the place restored by his wise measures the prosperity of the place, so that it contained about 40,000 inhabitants at the time of his death in 1706, as compared with 22,000 of Calcutta in the same year. But French influence dwindled in other places, and factories at Bantam, Surat and Masulipatam were abandoned by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Pondicherry henceforth became the seat of the French Government in India and Martin was appointed President of the Superior Council and Director-General of French affairs in India.

The resources of the French Company were practically exhausted by the end of the seventeenth century, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century till its reorganisation in 1720, it sold its licenses to others. In 1712 the company even gave up its rights of despatching vessels to the Indies to the merchants of St. Malo in consideration of an annual payment. No less than five governors were appointed from 1707 to 1720,

16 Malleson's *History of the French in India*, p. 24. Bijapur ceased to be independent in 1676, Golkonda fell a prey to the ambition of Aurangzeb, and the activities of Shivaji in the south created some troubles for the European Companies.

but each in turn followed a line of policy different from that of Martin. At the suggestion of John Law of Lauriston, Controller of the French Finances, a royal edict was passed in May 1719, incorporating the French East India Company with the other French trading companies, *viz.*, the Canada Company, the Mississipi Company or Company of the West, the Senegal Company, the China Company, and the Companies of Domingo and Guinea,—and this great body known as the 'Company of the Indies' also received the right of issuing coinage, the monopoly of tobacco, and the control of its public debt. Shares poured in, and speculations by all classes of people grew immensely.[17] But by 1720 the Company's paper currency became discredited and the "rage of speculation had been superseded by the rage for realising," which led to the failure of Law's scheme. In June 1720, the East India Company was reconstituted as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies.' From this time the French East India Company again entered upon a path of progress in the East. The island of Mauritius came into their possession in 1721, and in 1725 a small French squadron under the command of M. de Pardaillan captured Mahe on the Malabar coast, by following a plan suggested by one of its captains, La Bourdonnais, subsequenlty a famous name in the history of the French in India. In 1739 they took possession of Karikal on the Coromandel coast from the Raja of Tanjore. It should be noted that the two French governors, Lenoir and Dumas, who held office from 1720 to 1742 had only commercial objects in view. There was nothing in their conduct that "allows us to credit the Company with political views and still less ideas of conquest; its factories were more or less fortified, but for motives of simple security against the Dutch and the English; and although it enlisted troops, it used them only for purposes of defence."[18] Political motives appear after 1740, and it was left for Dupleix to think of a French Empire in India.

17 Cf. the speculation in England at this time: the South Sea Bubble.

18 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 75.

SECTION

During the sixteenth century, the merchants of England also were anxious to share in the profits of Eastern Commerce. Drakes' return (1580) from his voyage round the world by the Cape route and the victory over the Spanish Armada (1588) marked the birth in England of a new spirit of enterprise and advance in every field (politics, literature, commerce, etc.). The return of Ralph Fitch (1591) from several years' travels in India and Burma, and the capture of Portuguese treasures on high seas by English privateers, encouraged some of them to undertake voyages to the East. Between 1591 and 1593 a ship under James Lancaster reached Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula. Three years after Lancaster's return, a fleet was sent by Sir Robert Dudley under Benjamin Wood, but the enterprise ended in disaster. In 1597, John Mildenhall, a merchant adventurer of London, reached India by the overland route and spent seven years in the East. The first important step was taken on the 31st December, 1600, when the East India Company was incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies," and received a charter from Queen Elizabeth granting them an exclusive right (as against others in England) to Indian trade for fifteen years.

At the beginning the Company sent 'separate voyages' in which each fleet was dispatched by a particular group of subscribers, who divided among themselves the profits arising from their enterprise. Permanent joint-stock enterprises of the modern type organised by the whole body of subscribers did not begin before half a century of trial. The Company had various difficulties to face at this early stage of its existence. "It had to explore and map out the Indian seas and coasts, it had painfully to work out a system of commerce, to experiment with commodities and merchandise, to train and discipline a staff of servants. It had to brave or conciliate the hostility of England's hereditary Catholic enemy and her new Protestant rival. Further, it had to establish a position even at home, . . . there was no active state support given to England's first essays

in the East. The East India Company was cradled in the chilly but invigorating atmosphere of individualism. It had to cope with the lingering mediæval prejudice against the export of bullion and a fallacious theory of foreign trade."[19]

The first (1601—1603) and second (1604—1606) voyages were made to Achin (in Sumatra), Bantam (in Java), and the Moluccas, and not to India. The third voyage (1608) under Hawkins reached Surat, the chief port of the Mughal Empire. Hawkins visited the court of Jahangir who received him favourably and granted the English permission to settle in Surat. But owing to the jealousy of the Portuguese and the opposition of the chief merchants of Surat, Jahangir revoked these privileges and ordered the exclusion of the English. Hawkins left Agra in November 1611.

Meanwhile, in May 1609, a fresh charter was granted to the Company extending its privileges indefinitely (subject to revocation after three years' notice). The prospects of the Company brightened up when in 1612 Captain Best defeated the Portuguese in a sea-fight off the mouth of the Tapti.[20] An English factory was permanently established at Surat under Thomas Aldworth on a *firman* received from Jahangir early in 1613. With the object of concluding a treaty with the Mughal Emperor for securing permanent trade relations with India, the Company sent, with the permission of James I, Sir Thomas Roe, as being "of pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comely personage" as an ambassador to the Mughal court. Roe arrived at the court of Jahangir which was then at Ajmir in December 1615, and spent three years in trying to fulfil his object. He could not conclude a definite commercial treaty with the Emperor, owing to the

19 Roberts, p. 24. The reference is to the contemporary economic theory that money being wealth, export of bullion diminished national wealth, and import or purchase of manufactured goods, etc., in return for bullion is therefore a bad foreign trade: the Company did both.

20 It will be noted that, in the absence of an efficient navy either of the Mughal Empire or of any other Indian State, such hostilities in Indian waters and on Indian coasts were carried on for about three centuries without any check.

opposition of some of the Emperor's officers and of Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), then Viceroy of Gujrat, who did not like the interference of the English in the affairs of his province. But he succeeded in securing several privileges and a permission for establishing factories in certain places within the Emperor's dominions.

By the time Roe left India (February 1619) there had been established English factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach, all of which were placed under the authority of the chief of the Surat Factory, who had also to control the trade of the Company with the Red Sea ports and Persia. The Company also obtained a powerful ally in the Shah of Persia, who was jealous of Portuguese control of the trade of southern Persia,—particularly as Persians in the seventeenth century took to oversea trade even as far as Siam. With his help the English obtained some advantages over the Portuguese who lost Ormuz in 1622. In 1668 the Company obtained Bombay at a rent of £10 a year from Charles II, who had received it from the Portuguese as part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Braganza. Bombay became gradually more and more prosperous and superseded Surat (after about 75 years) as the chief English settlement on the West coast in 1687. On the Eastern coast the English had started a Factory (1611) at Masulipatam (the chief port of the Kingdom of Golkonda) where they enjoyed a valuable trade, especially in exporting piece-goods to Persia and Bantam. But the Dutch and the local officers troubled the factors at Masulipatam with much opposition, and so they established in 1626 another settlement at Armagaon, a little to the north of the Dutch fortress of Pulicat. Owing to various disadvantages in this place, they again returned to Masulipatam, where their position was improved by the grant of the ' Golden Firman ' by the king of Golkonda[21] in 1632 which gave the English liberty of trade in the ports of the Kingdom of Golkonda on the payment of annual duties

21 The Mohammedan Kingdom of Golconda did not follow up the tradition of maritime activity of the Hindu States of the Coromandel whom it supplanted; just as the Mughals did not do so in Gujrat region.

amounting to 500 ' pagodas.'[22] Another *firman* of 1643 repeated the same terms. In 1639 Francis Day obtained the lease of Madras from the ruler of Chandragiri (the representative of the steadily dwindling Kingdom of Vijaynagar), and built there a fortified factory named Fort St. George. By 1641 Fort St. George superseded Masulipatam (after thirty years) as the headquarters of the English in the Coromandel coast.

By this time the English had also pushed their trade north-eastwards to Orissa, and had started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi Delta and at Balasore in 1633. Gabriel Boughton, a physician, who visited Agra in 1645 and appears to have made an impression at the Imperial Court and the provincial court of Bengal, was granted a *firman* about 1650, whereby in his name one or more ships could be cleared duty-free in Bengal ; but Boughton died in 1653 ; and it is not clear if the English Company derived any definite or continued advantage from Boughton's *firman*.[23] In 1651 a factory was established at Hugli under one Mr. Bridgeman. A trade was opened up with Bengal in sugar, silks and saltpetre, and soon other factories were built at Patna, at Kassimbazar and at Rajmahal. But for some years the Company could not derive much profit owing to the irregular private trade of its servants, and there was a proposal to leave Bengal altogether, which was, however, altered in 1658, after Cromwell's charter. In this year all the settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and on the Coromandel coast, were made subordinate to Fort St. George. But due to several causes, the position of the Company's trade at Madras and Surat was at a low ebb at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. " The severe wars of the Indian rulers, the opposition of the Dutch, and the threatened withdrawal of the Company's privileges (owing to the Merchant Adventurers' petition for throwing the trade of India open) in England, combined to render the outlook anything but hopeful."[24]

22 Cf. the grant of Shujah, Governor of Bengal, in 1650.

23 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 284—86. Crawford: *History of the Indian Medieval Service, and Roll of the I.M.S.*

24 Hamilton, *Trade Relations, etc.*, p. 29.

The Company's position improved during the second half of the seventeenth century, and its policy also underwent a change. It was hitherto a mere peaceful trading corporation, following a policy of non-interference in internal wars, but it now tried to win a position in India as a political power. Improvement of the Company's prospects was due to certain changes at home. Cromwell's charter of 1657 had given a new lease of life to the Company and enabled it to raise a permanent and effective joint stock. In the same year the rivalry between the London East India Company and the Merchant Adventurers came to an end by the union of the two bodies. During the twenty years after the Restoration several royal charters granted to the Company the right of coining money, of erecting fortifications, of exercising jurisdiction over English subjects residing in the East (and even over Indians residing in or connected with English factory settlements),[25] and of making peace or war with non-Christian peoples. Bombay was also obtained (practically in territorial sovereignty) by the Company in 1668.

The disturbed political condition of India made the Company, whose position was thus improving, think of its own powers of defence and led to a modification of its previous policy. The perennial warfare between the Imperial forces and the Marathas, and other Deccan states, the almost independent but inefficient rule of the Mughal Viceroys in Bengal which became a prey to all kinds of internal disorders and external dangers, and the activities of the Malabar pirates, made the Company anxious about the safety of its own trade in India. Shivaji sacked Surat twice (1664 and 1670), and in 1667 he passed close to Madras while on his way to capture the stronghold of Jinji. Gerald Aungier, who succeeded Sir George Oxenden as President at Surat, and Governor of Bombay in 1669, tried to strengthen the position of Bombay in various ways. In 1667 he wrote to the directors that "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with sword in your hands." In course of a few years the directors

25 Charter Acts of 1677, 1683, and 'Mayor's Court' of 1726 and 1753.

followed the spirit of his policy, and wrote to Madras in a letter of December 1687 " to establish such a Politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come."[26] This departure of policy did not originate with Sir Josiah Child as is generally supposed, but he was the dominant force in the Company from his appointment as the Governor of Bombay in 1681 till his death in 1699.

Hostilities between the English factors and the Mughal officers had already begun. In 1651 the English in Bengal had obtained a ' *nishan* ' from Sultan Shujah granting the privilege of free trade to the members of the Company in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 3,000. A new ' *nishan* ' was granted in 1656, which laid down that " the factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of custom for goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under rates in any places of government by which they shall pass and repass up and down the counrty ; but that they buy and sell freely, and without impediment."[27] The English factors became very particular in asserting these privileges, since their private trade passed free as well as the Company's. But the Mughal officers subsequently took the view that with increasing trade the English should pay the tolls levied upon other merchants, and that the ' *nishan* ' of Shujah was not binding upon his successors.[28] The factors tried to retain their privileges by securing *firmans* from governors and emperors. Shaista Khan's *firman* of 1672 provided that " whatsoever goods the said company shall import from Balasore and any other place near the sea-side, up to Hugly, Cossimbazar, Patana, or any other place in these two kingdoms ; as also what saltpetre or any other goods that they shall export from Patana or any other place, to Balasore, or any other part to the sea ; that you let

26 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 102.

27 Stewart, Appendix No. II.

28 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, pp. 321—323.

them pass custom free, without any let, impediment or demands whatsoever."[29] A *firman* of 1680 granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb ordered that no one should molest the Company's people for customs and should impede their trade, and that " of the English nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent for their goods, more 1½ *jezia*, or poll-money shall be taken."[30] The Company's people wrongly claimed that by virtue of this *firman*, they could, on the payment of a consolidated duty of 3½ per cent at Surat, import goods and trade free of all customs and exactions at all other places in the Mughal Empire, even if these goods had not been imported through Surat and there not taxed at all.[31] The local officers of the Emperor continued to levy tolls and to seize Company's goods in all places (Bombay, Bengal and Madras), which the agents of the Company could not prevent.

The English traders at last thought of protecting themselves by force. " Experience soon showed that treaties were of no avail against the lawlessness of the local officials. It was not that the Mughal Government would not protect the foreign merchants against oppression and wrong. It could not as whatever control it had, it was gradually losing."[32] The Directors also, as we have already seen, decided to exert force for the maintenance of the Company's position in India. Captain Nicholson was sent from home with orders to capture and fortify Chittagong, as the future seat of the Company in that part, to fight with the King of Siam, and to snatch off Salsette from the Portuguese. War actually broke out in 1686 with the sack of Hugli by he English in October 1686, but they were repulsed from Hugli and retreated 24 miles down the river to Sutanuti (modern Calcutta). They renewed hostilities by seizing Hijli (1687), and storming the Mughal fortifications at Balasore (1686) under a fresh naval force sent from home under Captain William Heath. He failed to conquer Chittagong in 1689 and sailed back to Madras.

29 Stewart, Appendix No. III.
30 *Ibid.*, No. V.
31 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, p. 317
32 Quoted in *Ibid.*

On the Western coast, Sir John Child declared war against the Mughal authority (in December 1688), blockaded the mouth of the river below Surat, and captured all sorts of Mughal shipping indiscriminately, and sent his captain to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf "to arrest the pilgrimage traffic to Mecca." But Child had to submit, and he appealed for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzeb under G. Weldon and Abraham Navars on the 10th December, 1689.[33] The Emperor granted his pardon on the 25th December, and peace was concluded in February 1690, by which the English obtained a licence for their trade on condition of paying one-and-a-half lakh of rupees and restoring the goods captured from Mughal ships.[34] Ibrahim Khan, who had succeeded Shaista Khan, as the Governor of Bengal, was also ordered by the Emperor to allow the Company to trade in Bengal without molestation on payment of Rs.3,000 a year in lieu of all custom and other dues.[35] Job Charnock returned from Madras to Bengal on the 24th August and the English established a factory at Sutanuti. Thus was laid the "foundation of the future capital of British India, the first step in the realization of the half-conscious prophecy of 1687."[36] In 1696, an alarm excited by the rebellion of Sobha Singh, a zamindar in the district of Burdwan, provided an excuse for fortifying their new factory, and two years later Azim-us-Shan permitted the English to purchase the zamindary of the three villages of Sutanuti, Kalikata (Kālī-ghātā = Calcutta), and Govindpur on payment of Rs. 1,300 to former holders.[37] In 1700 the fortified factory was named Fort William (in honour of

33 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, p. 339.

34 Aurangzeb wrote on 22nd February, 1690: "The English (of Surat) having made a most humble, submissive and (promised) that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 1,50,000 and to behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner His Majesty hath pardoned their faults and agrees that they follow their trade as in former times." *Ibid.*, p. 339.

35 Stewart, Appendix No. 819.

36 Roberts, p. 46. *Vide* ante.

37 Extract from the Deed of Purchase, dated 30th December, 1699, quoted in Jones' *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 31.

King William III of England) and became the seat of a presidency, with Sir Charles Eyre[38] as the first President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal.

But for several years after this the Company's trade in Western India was under a great depression on account of "dull trade, the lack of capital, the intrusion of interlopers of their own race and civil discord in the Bombay Council."[39] To this was added the evil of piracy in the Indian Ocean by English pirates, who plundered the ships of the merchants of Surat and the Mughal pilgrim ships to and from Mecca. It was difficult for the native merchants and officers to distinguish between the pirates sailing under English colours and the peaceful traders of the Company, and their servants were held responsible for the atrocities of English corsairs. Aurangzeb accordingly placed the trade of all the European companies under an embargo so long as they did not compensate the losses inflicted on Mughal shipping, and the Englishmen in the Surat Factory were imprisoned in 1699. "Finally, the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they jointly engaged to make good all future losses." After this the embargo on European trade in the Mughal dominions was reversed, and in terms of this agreement, "the Dutch convoyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the Governor of Surat; the English paid Rs.30,000 and patrolled the South Indian seas, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf."[40]

The Company's Indian trade had excited the opposition of its opponents at home, and rival companies had been started for trading in the East. In 1694 four classes of English traders obtained a right of trading to the East Indies: (1) "The New English Company; (2) The Old Company, trading on their full

38 Who had married Job Charnock's daughter by his Indian wife whom he had saved from *Suttee*.

39 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, p. 339.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 354.

capital until 1701, and after that, on their limited subscription of £315,000 to the General Society ; (3) Subscribers to the General Society, who had refused to incorporate themselves in the joint stock of the New Company under which category the Old Company ranked after 1701 ; (4) A few private adventurers who had embarked in the trade to India after the Commons Resolution in 1694 (that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament) and before the incorporation of the General Society in 1698.

Of these, the New English Company was a really serious competitor of the Old Company and tried to thwart the activities of the Old Company in various ways. It sent Sir William Norris as an ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb (April 1701) to negotiate for privileges to the New Company's trade. But the mission ended in a fiasco. The rivalry of the two companies came to an end finally in 1708 by the award of the Earl of Godolphin. The two companies were amalgamated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies."

The domestic history of the Company from 1709 to the middle of the eighteenth century was one of prosperity. A Parliamentary Act of 1711 extended the period of its exclusive trade till 1733, and another act was passed in 1730 prolonging its privileges till 1769. In India also its trade and influence increased, though there were occasional interruptions from provincial governors or local officers. It is a mistake to think that the political disorders of the time inflicted great hardships on the Company. On the other hand, it took advantage of these to better its status and fortunes step by step. The accession of Farrukhsiyar, who had been well disposed towards the English, presented an opportunity for them. An embassy under John Surman and Edward Stephenson, sent from Calcutta, reached Delhi in the summer of 1714. Mr. William Hamilton also accompanied the embassy as surgeon, and an Armenian merchant of Calcutta, named Khujah Serhaud, who understood both English and Persian, went with it as an interpreter. Hamilton, who became a favourite of the

Emperor by curing him of a painful disease, succeeded in converting His Majesty's ideas in favour of the Company, and the envoys submitted the Company's petition at an opportune moment in the month of January 1716. It received a favourable response from the Emperor, who granted *firmans* conceding important privileges to the Company. Surman brought back with him three *firmans* addressed to the officials of the three provinces, Hyderabad, Gujrat, and Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa), where the English were settled. The right of the latter to trade in Bengal, free all duties, subject to the customary payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, was confirmed: they were to be allowed to rent additional territory round Calcutta and to settle where else they might choose: their long-standing privilege of freedom from dues throughout the province of Hyderabad[41] was continued, the only payment required being the existing rent paid for Madras;[42] certain neighbouring villages, which had long been in dispute, were added to that city; a rearrangement of the Company's lands round Vizagapatam was sanctioned; a yearly sum of Rs. 10,000 was accepted in satisfaction of all customs and dues (hitherto paid by them) at Surat; and the rupees coined by the Company at Bombay were allowed to pass throughout the imperial dominions.[43]

This embassy marks an important turning-point in the history of the Company's settlements in India. It secured important privileges for the Company, which the historian Orme afterwards rightly described as the "Magna Carta of the Company." The concession for settling in certain villages near Madras and Calcutta made the Company an "integral part of the empire of the Mughals," and the right of coining and issuing money from the Bombay mint was an "extra-

41 Lately the Kingdom of Golconda, whose rulers had conferred these privileges.

42 Originally paid to the Rajas of Chandragiri (Vijaynagar), then to the Nawabs of Carnatic.

43 *Cambridge History*, p. 112.

ordinary privilege."[44] The *firman* exempting the Company's trade from duties immensely contributed towards the growth of its commerce and influence in India. Moreover, the English came to have some knowledge through their envoys about the rotten state of the Mughal Empire in India. Though hampered occasionally here and there by the evils accompanying the break-up of the Mughal Empire, the privileged trade of the Company entered upon a period of progress and prosperity. No doubt some disturbing influences appear, but these are sufficiently overcome, and more than balanced by the favourable circumstances.

The Company's trade on the Western coast of India suffered for about eighteen years after this owing to the disputes of the Marathas and the Portuguese, who could not (in spite of English help) maintain their position and lost Bassein in 1739, and the ravages of the Maratha pirates of the Malabar coasts, notably the Angrias, who dominated the coast between Bombay and Goa. Boone, who was the Governor of Bombay from 1715 to 1722, built a wall round Bombay and constructed many fighting ships for defending the Company's factory and trade against these pirates. But after these eighteen years the commerce of Bombay increased, as the power of the pirates began to decline, though it was finally broken after the capture of Suvarndrug in 1755 by Commodore James and the conquest of their capital Gheria by Clive and Watson in 1756. In 1744 Bombay had a population of about 70,000 and the military strength of the Company also increased. In 1739 the English concluded the first treaty with the Marathas and obtained from the Peshwa a grant of free trade throughout his dominions. At Madras also the English "plied a peaceful commerce, remaining on excellent terms with both the ruler of the Carnatic and his overlord, the Subahdar of the Deccan (Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had made himself practically

[44] But it may be said that Bombay was held in full territorial sovereignty so that it was not an extraordinary privilege, but a great recognition; the case was different with the Madras rupee (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and with the attempt (first half of eighteenth century) of the East India Company to have a mint or use the Mughal mint in Bengal.

independent of Delhi by this time)." In 1717 the English took possession of those 'five towns ' near Madras, which had been originally obtained by Thomas Pitt[45] (Governor of Madras from 1698—1709) from the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1708, and in 1734 they also got Vepery and four other hamlets.

The political condition of Bengal was not so disturbed as at Madras or Bombay, and the Nawabs maintained some order and peace in the province. So the trade of the Company and the private trade of its servants prospered, and Calcutta gradually grew into importance, coming to have a population of about 100,000 by 1735. The shipping of the port, in the course of ten years after the embassy of 1716, amounted to ten thousand tons a year. But the Company got into troubles with Murshid Kuli Jafar Khan, the Governor of Bengal (1713—1725) and with the local officers of the Nawab who levied tolls and exactions on their trade.

45 Ancest . of Pitt the Great Commoner and the Younger Pitt.

CHAPTER II

LATER MUGHALS AND BREAK-UP OF THE EMPIRE

AURANGZEB always apprehended that after him his successors would fight among themselves for the throne, and it is said that he left a will with directions for the partition of the Empire among his three surviving sons[1] Muazzam (Shah Alam I or Bahadur Shah I), Muhammad Azam and Kambaksh. But his admonitions or will could not prevent the war of succession. His death on 3rd March, 1707 (in his camp at Ahmadnagar), was the signal for another civil war, and his three sons soon plunged themselves in bitter fratricidal struggles for the Imperial throne. The eldest of the three, Muazzam, was at that time Governor of Kabul, Azam of Gujrat, and Kambaksh of Bijapur. Before Muazzam could arrive from Kabul, Kambaksh " assumed all the attributes of sovereignty " but he could not leave the Deccan. Azam Shah also issued coins in his own name and marched towards Agra, while Muazzam Shah helped by a Sikh contingent sent by Guru Govind Singh (who thus probably sought to end the unfortunate Mughal-Sikh hostility through friendship with a comparatively generous successor of Aurangzeb), and by an able officer, Munim Khan, hurried from Kabul towards the same city, which contained " hoards of treasure." Muazzam's son Azim-us-Shan, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1696, came forward to help his father at Agra with 30,000 cavalry and eight crores of rupees.[2] The fort of Agra soon came under Muazzam Shah's control. He expressed a desire to share the

[1] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 6.

[2] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 410. This is an early instance of the so-called economic ' drain ' from Bengal Subah in the eighteenth century.

Empire with his brother, and sent a letter to Azam Shah asking him to follow the line of partition laid down by their father. But Azam Shah resolved to fight out his claim, and sent a rather haughty reply to his brother.[3] He was right, as the interests of the Empire as an unity were higher than those of members of the dynasty, and precedent showed that the partitioning of Babar's empire had led to speedy dissolution in a few years. The two brothers met at Jajau, a few miles from Agra, and Azam Shah was defeated and killed with his two sons, Bidar Bakht and Wala-jah, in June 1707. After an expedition to Rajputana, Muazzam, Bahadur Shah, marched to the Deccan, (accompanied by the Sikh Guru, Govind Singh, personally), where Kambaksh was defeated near Hyderabad and died of wounds early in 1708.

Bahadur Shah then formally ascended the throne and made appointments in the principal offices. Munim Khan became the chief minister. Asad Khan, the late Emperor's Wazir, who objected to this appointment, was offered the position of *Wakil-i-Mutlak* or Vice-Emperor, an office superior to that of the Wazir, though he lost practically all influence in the affairs of the state and retired. Bahadur Shah was a " man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault."[4] Though not a great sovereign, he was successful in comparison with his successors, and he was able for some time to maintain the dignity of the Empire. But he was overgenerous, for which he earned the nickname of *Shah-i-bekhabar*, the ' Heedless ' King[5] and he was too old to save the declining empire. His death on the night of the 27th February, 1712, was followed by another war of succession among his four sons, Jahandar Shah, Azim-us-Shan, Jahan Shah (Khujistah Akhtar) and Rafi-us-Shan. Azim-us-Shan was killed in a battle with the three others, who soon fell out amongst themselves. Jahan Shah and Rafi-us-Shan were next killed in battle, and Jahandar Shah secured the throne.

3 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 22; *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. I, p. 5.

4 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 136.

5 Owen, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 128.

Asad Khan remained, as during the reign of Bahadur Shah, *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* or Viceregent and his son Zulfikar Khan became chief minister. Jahandar Shah "was an utterly degenerate representative of the house of Taimur, Babar and Akbar. Frivolous, profligate, cruel and cowardly, servilely devoted to a favourite lady, Lal Kunwar, whose relatives he promoted wholesale to high honours, to the disgust of the old nobles and the able and experienced servants of the state, he soon became generally odius and despicable."[6] He was deposed after a reign of eleven months, and was strangled in the fort of Delhi by order of Azim-us-Shan's son Farrukhsiyar, who proclaimed himself Emperor (1713). The King-maker Zulfikar Khan was also executed. Farrukhsiyar owed his exaltation to the two brothers, Husain Ali, deputy governor of Patna, and Abdulla, governor of Allahabad, Barha Sayyids, whose plan had been employed in the Imperial service since the days of Akbar.[7] All powers soon passed into the hands of these two brothers. But Farrukhsiyar also tried to assert his independence, and so "his reign is throughout an agitated and perplexing one, ending in another Imperial tragedy."[8] The two Sayyid brothers indeed monopolised all power in the state, Abdulla Khan as Wazir or Prime Minister and Husain Ali as Commander-in-Chief of the army, though the burden of government fell upon the latter as the former was a soldier and was not qualified for a high ministerial post. But the Emperor neither possessed the real ability to deprive them of their influence nor was he content to allow the ministers to pursue their own way. He was "feeble, cowardly and contemptible" and "strong neither for evil nor for good."[9] He had "no resolution or discretion" of his own.[10] He soon fell under the influence of some of his anti-Sayyid friends,

6 Owen, p. 133. Lal Kunwar was a direct descendant of the famous Tansen, and was one of the chief court musicians and dancers.

7 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 202.

8 Owen, p. 138.

9 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 396.

10 Khafi Khan: Elliot, Vol. II, p. 442.

notably Mir Jumla, who went on fanning the flame of mutual discontent between him and his Sayyid ministers, who became so much disgusted that they removed their master from the throne. The deposed Emperor was first blinded and then executed in an ignominious manner.[11]

Contradictory opinions have been expressed on the conduct of the Sayyids in doing away with the Emperor in this way. On the one hand the Sayyids and the Shias defend their action as the only course which they could follow, while the rivals of the Sayyid brothers have greatly denounced their conduct. None of these two ertreme views can be fully accepted. It was not, of course, an unjustifiable step on their part to remove such a worthless Emperor, whose treatment of his possible rivals had laid down a fresh precedent in the treatment of royal undesirables. But for men in the position of ministers of state "the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage ; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive ; and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled-for."[12]

After the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers placed on the throne two phantom Emperors, Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafi-ud-Doulah, of the imperial house (sons of Rafi-us-Shan). But they disappeared in the course of a few months, and the Sayyids set up another youth of eighteen, Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah and a grandson of Bahadur Shah. He came to the throne in 1719 as Muhammad Shah. The Sayyids wanted to "rule through the medium of an Imperial puppet." Khafi Khan thus writes: "All the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Sayyid Abdullah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the

11 Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 478; Irvine, Vol. I. pp. 391—394.

12 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 395.

Sayyid's adherents ; and when occasionally he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him, and brought him back." Muhammad Shah was not very willing to remain under the control of the Sayyids, who had also created many enemies during the seven years of their power. The new Emperor found supporters among these enemies of the Sayyids, the ablest of whom was the leader of the Turani Party, the famous " Nizam-ul-Mulk " (Mir Qamar-ud-din, Chin Kilch Khan, son of a Samarkhand adventurer serving in the Deccan). Husain Ali was assassinated while on his way towards Malwa to chastise the Nizam-ul-Mulk who as its Governor was making preparations for rebellion and had disobeyed orders for his transfer. Abdulla tried to maintain his position by placing another puppet (Muhammad Ibrahim, another son of Rafi-us-Shan) on the throne (1720), but he was defeated (by Muhammad Amin Khan, cousin of the Nizam-ul-Mulk), imprisoned and subsequently poisoned in 1722. The new Wazir, Muhammad Amin Khan, died in 1721 and the Nizam-ul-Mulk was called to Agra to succeed him, but his temperament being his sovereign's opposite, he left the court and returned to the Deccan to make that Subah a kingdom of his own. The removal of the Sayyids and the exit of the Turani Party's leaders from the stage did not mean the increase of Muhammad Shah's power and prestige. " Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which entirely enervated the energy of the Empire."[13] Though his reign was a long one yet " in utter unconcern he left the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal."[14] Province after province like the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal passed away definitely from his control ; the Marathas established their authority over a large part of the Empire ; the Jats near Agra became independent, the Sikhs became turbulent in the Punjab ; the Rohilla Afghans settled in the North Gangetic plain and

13 *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. III, p. 281.

14 *Journal of Indian History*, August 1929, p. 191. For further details, *vide* Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

founded the state of Rohilkhand ; and the several Afghan invasions inflicted a terrible blow on the destiny of the tottering Empire. " Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his (Muhammad Shah's) mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course, but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him."[15]

Muhammad Shah was succeeded by his son Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah lacked the courage and ability to fight successfully with the formidable dangers with which he was encircled on all sides[16] and in 1754 he was deposed and blinded by his Wazir Ghazi-ud-din, Imad-ul-Mulk, grandson of the first Nizam-ul-Mulk of the Deccan. The power and extent of the Empire was very much reduced in his reign, and before his death it was reduced to a small district round Delhi. Just before Ahmad Shah's deposition Aziz-ud-din, son of Jahandar Shah, who was so long in confinement was released and set up on the throne as Alamgir II. But the new Emperor "found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne as he was formerly in his confinement." He tried to extricate himself from the control of the Wazir Ghazi-ud-din but he lacked the capacity to do it and his attempt only brought ruin upon himself ; he was treacherously murdered by the Wazir's orders. The next Emperor Ala Gohar, Shah Alam II, was greatly afraid of the perfidious Wazir and led a wandering life for many years moving from one place to another. Shah Alam, " had he even abilities to rule, had now no subjects left to command ; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital."[17] It was from him that the English obtained a grant of the Diwani of Bengal. During his long life (blinded 1788, died 1806) he went through many vicissitudes of fortunes. For some time he placed himself under the protection of the Marathas, who thereby again became the paramount power in

15 Dow's *Hindusthan*, Vol. II, p. 316.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 16.

India for a time ; he led two expeditions to Bengal and Bihar and helped Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh in the battle of Buxar but failed to check the growth of the new English power in the Gangetic region, and acknowledged it. He was blinded by the Rohillas and finally came under the English protection. He lived as a pensioner of the English and died in 1806. His son Akbar II lived at Delhi with Imperial title only till 1837. The dynasty was finally extinguished with Bahadur Shah II, who was suspected of helping the Sepoy rebels and was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

The weakness and decline of the Imperial authority at Delhi gave birth to different parties within the Empire, the leaders of each striving hard for self-aggrandisement and personal supremacy. Party factions fomented by the ambitious designs of the nobles are always prejudicial to the interests of a state, and in the absence of a strong central authority the Mughal state was torn up in the midst of general civil war, treacherous conspiracies, assassinations and barbarities. It is true that the feeble and vacillating character of the Emperors was also partly responsible for this. They had not the force of character to govern themselves, nor had they the judgment to choose worthy men as their officers and ministers whom they could trust and support. They constantly changed their opinions according to the advice of selfish and depraved eunuchs and flatterers ; they often tried to remove their old ministers with the hope of getting better support from their servile successors. It was natural that when the " Emperor was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at Court or in the provinces."[18]

There were two principal parties into which the nobles were divided. Those who were born in India or had long settled in the country formed the Hindusthani or Indo-Muslim party. Most of the Afghan nobles and the Sayyids of Barha

[18] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 311—313.

as well as Khan-i-Dauran, whose ancestors came from Badakhshan, regarded themselves as natives of India and belonged to this party. They depended greatly on the help of their Hindu friends. The foreign nobles of diverse origins were all indiscriminately called Mughals and they were subdivided into two groups according to the land of their birth. The nobles from Transoxiana and other parts of Central Asia, who were mostly Sunnis, formed the Turani party. Muhammad Amin Khan and his cousin Chin Qilich Khan better known as the Nizam-ul-Mulk were the most important members of this group. Those who came from Persian territories and were Shias formed the Irani party. Asad Khan and his son Zulfikar Khan were the most prominent members of this party. The members of none of these factions had any common principle of work or firm obligations to parties like modern political parties. Thus we find that during the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah, Zulfikar Khan maintained the ascendancy of the Irani party. Then since Farrukhsiyar's accession the Hindusthani party became powerful under the leadership of the Sayyid brothers and with the help of the Turani party. Next the Hindusthani party was deprived of power by a combination of the Turanians and the Iranians. If the Hindusthani party had stood for Hindusthan over all, it could have saved India from disruption with its Hindu supporters but the opportunity was lost, hardly realised.

These party factions created nothing but disorder and anarchy and the whole machinery of Imperial administration became utterly corrupted and inefficient.

Maintenance of law and order is the supreme test of a state, and the basis of its further political progress. It is thus natural that the Mughal " Government which could not maintain order at home was still less likely to command respect abroad."

That respect indeed had hardly ever been enjoyed by the Mughals : to Central and West Asiatic princes and peoples Babar was no more than a dispossessed exile lucky enough to find a home in India, the land of easy conquests ; Humayun was no more than a fugitive whom Persia was pleased to help

on to winning an Indian kingdom ; Akbar commanded some respect as conqueror and efficient ruler of Afghanistan ; but Jahangir and Shahjahan by their failures at Kandahar and beyond the Hindu Kush against Persia and Central Asiatic princes and peoples, thoroughly exposed the growing inefficiency of Mughal military system, while its extravagant expenditure roused their cupidity ; Aurangzeb neglected the North-West leaving Delhi for the South, concentrating his forces on the Rajputs, Marathas and the Deccan States so that the Frontier Tribes found it easy to continue in a state of rebellious defiance, endangering communications with Kabul, while sullen discontent was growing in the Punjab with the persecution of the Sikhs and the Jats, to burst into open hostilities during Bahadur Shah and Farrukhsiyar. This weakening of hold on the North-Western Provinces, the disaffection in the Punjab, the alienation from Rajput military power, the failure against the Marathas, and Maratha advance towards the North from 1714 onwards, could not have escaped the notice of the Persians, who already held the advanced post of Kandahar by annexation from the Mughal territories. But for some years yet the inevitable Persian invasion of the Mughal empire could not take place, for Persia herself (together with much of Western Afghanistan) was involved in internal revolutions from 1721 to 1736 ; after 1736 Persia under Nadir was free to turn to India waiting as it were to be attacked and plundered. Muhammad Shah had failed to take proper measures for guarding the North-West Frontier ; the whole of Afghanistan was in a defenceless condition ; Kabul was in the midst of disorder under its " simple-minded and indolent " governor Nasir Khan, and his repeated appeals to the Imperial Court for money to pay the troops passed unheeded, because of the machinations of Khan-i-Dauran, the rival of Roshan-ud-daulah, Nasir Khan's patron at the Delhi Court. Ghulam Husain, an almost contemporary historian, observes : " The roads and passes being neglected, everyone passed and repassed, unobserved, no intelligence was forwarded to Court of what was happening ; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their

ears."[19] Equally wretched was the condition of the province of the Punjab. Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore and Multan, was a good administrator, but as he belonged to the Turani party, his attempts to protect the province against rebels, robbers and foreign invasions were foiled by the members of the Hindusthani party, who then enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor. Thus the task of the invader was rendered easier.

The famous Nadir Shah of Persia was born in a humble family. His early life was stained with many dark deeds ; but the schooling of hardships and privations had given him an indomitable energy, a fiery valour and great ability. He came into prominence during the period of disorder that followed the usurpation of Persia[20] by the Afghans. He delivered Persia from the hands of the Afghans and entered into the service of its restored lawful ruler Shah Tahmasp, son of the deposed Shah Husain in 1727. But his new master proved an incompetent ruler and was deposed in 1732. In 1736 Nadir himself became king after the death of the infant son of Shah Tahmasp.

From this time Nadir Shah assumed the rôle of a conqueror and he began his advance towards India in 1738. Nadir Shah got a pretext for his advance towards India in the alleged violation of promises by Muhammad Shah and detention and ill-treatment of his envoys at the Mughal Court. The practically defenceless frontier and weak resistance of the Mughal Governors enabled Nadir Shah to capture Peshawar and Lahore without much trouble. After a slight resistance, Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore, surrendered himself to the invader and the whole of the Punjab was subjected to ruin and disorder. "The whole province was in complete revolution. Every person put forth his hand to plunder and

19 Siyar, Vol. I, p. 300.

20 In 1722 Shah Husain Safavi, the last of the Safavi line, was defeated by the Afghans, who then began to rule over Persia.

pillage, and some thousands of robbers beset the public roads."[21]

The ease-loving Emperor and the selfish nobles of his court, whose proceedings during Nadir's invasion "form a tale of disgraceful inefficiency amounting to imbecility," shook off their lethargy only when the Persians were within a hundred miles of Delhi. The imperial forces marched forward to oppose Nadir's advance, and encamped at Karnal, a city twenty miles north of Panipat. In February 1739, the imperial troops were defeated by Nadir's army. The vanquished Emperor sued for peace by sending the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Nadir's camp. The Nizam settled with Nadir that his army would advance no further and return to Persia "on being promised a war indemnity of fifty lakhs of rupees, out of which twenty lakhs were to be paid then and there, ten lakhs on reaching Lahore, ten lakhs at Attock, and the remaining ten lakhs at Kabul;" the Emperor visited Nadir's camp and dined with him, and prospects were bettering. But Sadat Khan, who became jealous of the Nizam's appointment as Bakshi, incited Nadir to demand more from the Emperor, and while a terrible famine stared the Mughal camp in the face, Nadir revised his demand to one of twenty crores of rupees as indemnity, and pressed the Nizam-ul-Mulk to write to the Emperor to visit the Persian camp again to settle matters. Considering that resistance to Nadir would produce greater troubles, the Emperor revisited Nadir's camp only to be imprisoned there, with his followers. With this captivity of the Emperor, "the key for opening the whole empire of Hindusthan came into the hands of Nadir."[22] A few days after this the city of Delhi fell under Nadir's control, and Nadir entered it with the vanquished and captive Emperor.

The feeble great-grandson of Aurangzeb submitted in humiliation to the victor, who occupied Shahjahan's own palace-chambers by the Diwan-i-Khas. At first things proceeded

21 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 334.

22 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 358.

quietly enough, but a rumour about Nadir's death, started by some mischief-makers, created a tumult in the midst of which some of his soldiers were slain. Nadir tried to suppress the rising, but the loss of his soldiers enraged him highly and he took revenge by ordering a general massacre of the inhabitants. The slaughter lasted from 9 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon. "Within the doomed areas, the houses were looted, all the men killed without regard for age and all the women dragged into slavery. The destroyers set fire to many houses and several of their victims, both dead and wounded, Hindus and Mohammedans, were indiscriminately burnt together."[23] The sufferings of the people knew no bounds. They were practically blockaded within the city suffering from famine and cruelties at the hands of Nadir's soldiers. He ordered the granaries to be sealed up, placed guards over them, and sent detachments to plunder the villages. The Emperor had to make over all his crown jewels, including the famous diamond Koh-i-nur and the valuable Peacock Throne of Shahjahan. The nobles were divested of their wealth and a further heavy contribution of about two crores was forcibly realized from the starving citizens of Delhi. As estimated by Nadir's own secretary, he realised at Delhi the total indemnity of fifteen crores of rupees in cash besides a vast amount in jewels, apparel, furniture and other valuables from the imperial storehouse.[24] Besides these,[24a] he took away with him 300 elephants, 10,000 horses, and the same number of camels. Muhammad Shah was formally replaced on the throne but the trans-Indus provinces (Sindh, Kabul and the Western parts of the Punjab) were transferred to the Persian Emperor. Thus, deprived of the accumulated treasures of his predecessors, with a vital part

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 367.

[24] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 371. The editor of the work notes that Frazer's estimate of seventy crores "is clearly an exaggeration."

[24a] The famous illustrated Persian manuscript on Hindu Music written by command of Emperor Muhammad Shah and lately recovered by Maharaja Tagore in London formed part of his plunder.

of his Empire surrendered to foreigners, and with unpatriotic and disaffected nobles engaged in ignoble strife at the Court, Muhammad Shah's prestige sank lower still, low as it was before.

Three hundred and forty years ago India had suffered from a similar calamity, the invasion of Timur. Then too Delhi went through the same orgy of fire and sword, massacre and plunder, extortion and dishonour but as a state Delhi could revive to some extent and continue through several changes of mediocre ruling families; for Timur's destructive work ceased with his death and between him and his descendant and successor in his Indian adventure a century and a quarter elapsed. But "the Abdali and his dynasty continued Nadir's work in India as the heir to his Empire,"[25] and after Nadir's invasion had left the Mughal Empire practically dismembered "bleeding and prostrate," no time was given it to heal and try to rise.

Nadir was assassinated in 1747; one of his officers named Ahmad Shah, an Afghan chief of the Abdali clan, succeeded in establishing his authority in the eastern portions of Nadir's dominions and he repeated his master's exploits seven times. A month before the death of Muhammad Shah (1748) he led his first invasion and advanced up to Sirhind (east of the Sutlej) but was repulsed by Prince Ahmad Shah. After the accession of Ahmad Shah on the throne of Delhi, Ahmad Shah of Persia repeated his incursion and conquered the whole of the Punjab, after defeating the Mughal Governor Mir Munnoo, who finding all resistance futile, came to an agreement with the Abdali, and was reappointed by him in the government of the Punjab (1752); its new suzerain now returned towards Kabul and Kandahar.[26] Thus the empire was further reduced in extent and power.

But in the time of Emperor Alamgir II (1754—59), after the death of the renegade Munnoo and his infant son, Ghazi-

[25] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 377.

[26] Siyar, Vol. III, p. 326

ud-din (who was now in power at Delhi) overran the province of the Punjab and appointed a Governor of his own, Adina Beg. Highly incensed at this, Ahmad Shah undertook his fifth invasion of India and occupied Delhi, "which was plundered and its unhappy people again subjected to pillage." Ghulam Husain writes: " his people fell a-plundering and sacking so mercilessly, and they went on dragging away people's wives and daughters with so much cruelty, that numbers overborne by the delicacy of their feelings, rather than to fall in such abominable hands, made away with themselves; and God only knows the number and quality of all the violence exercised, for a month together in that ill-fated city."[27] Ghazi-ud-din surrendered and was pardoned. Thus plundering and outraging Delhi. Ahmad Shah returned to Kabul leaving his son Timur Shah as the Governor of Lahore.

After his departure Ghazi-ud-din recovered Delhi with the help of the Marathas, and deprived Najib-ud-dowla, a leading chief of the Rohilla Afghans, of his high office and influence at Court. He invited Adina Beg to rise against Ahmad Shah's son Timur, and the Sikhs also joined the rising. Taking advantage of these troubles in the Punjab, the Marathas under the command of the famous Raghunath Rao invaded the Punjab, defeated Ahmad Shah's general, and entered Lahore (1758), which they placed under the governorship of Adina Beg on a yearly tribute of seventy-five lakhs. Duttaji Sindhia invaded Rohilkhand, and the Rohilla Afghans fled into the Kumayoon hills. They sent supplications to their kinsman Ahmad Shah Abdali, who advanced for the sixth time to India, pushed back the Marathas under the Holkar and Duttaji Sindhia, and inflicted a defeat on the Marathas at the battle of Badely, where Duttaji Sindhia and 70,000 Marathas (according to Ghulam Husain) were slain.[28] Ahmad Shah again entered India in 1759 in alliance with the Rohillas and Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh (jealous of Ghazi-ud-din and his Maratha

27 Siyar, Vol. III, p. 349.

28 Siyar, Vol. III, p. 379.

allies), and inflicted a terrible defeat on the Marathas in the field of Panipat (1761).[29] The Mughal Empire now came fully under the control of the Abdali conqueror, who, during a few days' stay at Delhi, " bestowed the Empire of Hindusthan on Shah Alam (Shah Alam II); the office of Wazir on Shuja-ud-dowla; and the dignity of Prince of Princes on Nadjib-ud-dowla."[30] Ahmad Shah was, however, not destined to establish a permanent empire in India, because he had not yet been able to consolidate his own kingdom in Afghanistan which now demanded his attention. He left Delhi in disorder and confusion and the Mughal Empire gradually nearing its end.

While the emperors became puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles and lost authority in their own capital, the inevitable centrifugal tendency began to work in the different parts of the Empire. The provincial governors soon freed themselves from Imperial control and became virtually independent princes and founders of local dynasties, though pretending a theoretical allegiance to the phantom Mughal Emperor. Of these the most prominent were the Subahdars of Oudh, of Bengal and of the Deccan. The jurisdiction of the Subahdar of Oudh extended not over Oudh as now known but also over Benares to the east of it, a good part of the territory to its west, and some districts near Allahabad and Cawnpore. The Deccan Subah at first comprised the conquered Deccan sultanates[31] together with the Carnatic (being part of Vijaynagar conquered by Mir Jumla under Golconda) and also Berar, Khandesh, Malwa and for a time Gujrat. But Maratha expansion almost from the moment of the formation of the Subah, gradually sliced off district after district from it in the West and North, while the Carnatic grew presently into a separate unit. The Bengal Subah included the three subprovinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

29 *Vide* later.

30 Siyar, Vol. III, p. 393.

31 *Vide* Part I, Ch. 4, sec. 4.

Sadat Khan, who came of a Persian family from Khorasan, was the founder of the Kingdom of Oudh. He had been originally appointed as the Faujdar of Biana, about sixty miles south-west of Agra, and joined in the Turani conspiracy to assassinate Sayyid Husain Ali Khan. He quarrelled with some of the favourite nobles of Muhammad Shah's Court, and was therefore sent away from Court as Governor of Oudh in 1724. This proved a boon, and he rapidly rose into power ; he was recalled to Delhi at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion[32] but committed suicide the same year. He was succeeded in the government of Oudh by his nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang, who was also appointed Wazir (prime minister of the Emperor) in 1748. In spite of opposition from Asaf Jah's son and grandson, Safdar Jang retained the office till some time before his death in 1754. His son Shuja-ud-dowla, who succeeded him in Oudh and also became the Wazir, is an important figure in the history of Northern India from 1754—1775 and his activities will be noted mainly in connection with the third battle of Panipat and the battle of Buxar.

Murshid Quli, appointed Governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1703, had made himself practically independent of the central authority at Delhi. After the death of that emperor he transferred the capital from Dacca to Murshidabad (named after him), while he continued to send regular tributes to Delhi. He was a strong and vigorous ruler, though sometimes oppressive in realising revenues from the Hindu zamindars.[33] He tried to prevent the abuse of ' dustucks ' by the servants of the English East India Company, and to realise from them the same duties as were paid by the other native and foreign merchants. This led the Company to apply for and secure the Firman of 1717[34] from the Delhi Emperor. Murshid Quli died in 1725 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shujauddin.

32 *Vide* ante.

33 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 422.

34 *Vide* ante.

Though steeped in luxury and fond of splendour, he had some ability and consideration. After his death in 1739, his son Sarfaraz Khan became the Nawab of Bengal. But Sarfaraz soon fell a victim to a conspiracy planned by Haji Ahmad and his brother Allahvardi Khan, the rayrayan Alamchand and the Jagat Seth Fateh Chand. Allahvardi marched out from Bihar (where he was deputy governor) and met Sarfaraz in the field of Gheriah, where the latter was defeated and slain. To justify his usurpation, Allahvardi took care to secure an imperial patent and sent some presents to the Emperor (Muhammad Shah). With some preliminary official changes in keeping with the patent he began to rule independently, and proved himself an able administrator. He took a keen interest in the economic affairs of the state and tried to prevent the increasing abuse of 'dustuck' by the English East India Company's servants. His conduct towards the European traders was, on the whole, impartial, though he was compelled by extraordinary circumstances to realise contributions from them.[35] Ghulam Husain speaks in high terms about him: "A prudent, keen and a valorous soldier, there are hardly any qualifications, which he did not possess."[36] But he was not destined to enjoy peacefully the Nawabship, which he had gained by deceit and conspiracy.[37] The repeated invasions of the Marathas from year to year throughout his reign, and the rebellions of the Afghans of Darbhanga gave him practically no rest. The treacherous assassination of the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit at Mankarah (near Kassimbazar) by Allahvardi did not put an end to his troubles, as the Maratha incursions continued as vigorously as before and he had to conclude a treaty (1751) with them by which he agreed to pay an annual tribute of twelve lakhs as *chauth* and ceded the revenues of a part of Orissa

35 K. K. Datta, *History of the East India Company's Trade* (Calcutta Review, August 1931).

36 Siyar, Vol. II, p. 162.

37 It should be noted that it was Allahvardi who sowed the seeds the better fruits whereof became the inheritance of his grandson Sirajuddowlah.

to the Marathas. Thus was laid the foundation of Maratha control over Orissa. These Maratha ravages exercised a pernicious influence on the social and economic life of the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[38] Allahvardi died in April 1756 and was succeeded by his daughter's son Mirza Muhammad, later known as Nawab Sirajuddowlah, whose regime forms a turning-point in the history of the country.

The Deccan Subah also became practically indepedent of Imperial control under Chin Kilich Khan (Nizam-ul-Mulk). His grandfather Khwaja Abid Shaikh-ul-Islam of Bukhara took service with Aurangzeb about the middle of the seventeenth century and his father Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang held several important posts in the Empire. Chin Kilich Khan also held various posts in different parts of the Empire till the year 1713 when he was made the Governor of the Deccan as a reward for his espousing the case of Farrukhsiyar.[39] From the very beginning of his career in the Deccan he tried to check the power of the Marathas by stopping the payment of *chauth* and by instigating the disaffected Maratha nobles[40] against Sahu. But owing to intrigues at the Delhi Court he was recalled from his office in the Deccan by the end of 1713 and Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed in his place. But after the fall of the Sayyid brothers the Nizam-ul-Mulk again became master of the six Subahs of the Deccan toward the end of 1720, and commenced his operations against the growing Maratha power. But just the next year he received an Imperial summons to return to Delhi at once and in February 1722 " he was appointed Wazir and received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen case and a diamond ring of great value."[41] But his enemies poisoned the Emperor Muhammad Shah's mind against him[42] and he left Delhi for the Deccan.[43] The

38 K. K. Datta, '*The Marathas in Bengal.*' (J. Bombay Historical Society, 1930.)

39 Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 268—272.

40 Kafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 450-451.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 518.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Ibid.*, p. 523.

governorship of the Deccan had been in the meanwhile conferred on Mubariz Khan. The new governor had alienated the Marathas by his hostile proceedings. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, therefore, obtained their help and defeated and killed Mubariz Khan in the battle of Shakhar Kheda (October 11, 1724).[44] The Nizam-ul-Mulk was thereupon deprived of the Wazirat and governorship of Malawa and Gujrat but he was or had to be confirmed in the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1725) on which he henceforth concentrated his attention. "From this period may be dated the Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State. Henceforth he bestowed offices in the Dakhin ; he made promotions in rank, conferred titles and issued assignments in the land revenue at his own will and pleasure."[45] Khafi Khan lavishes much praise on the Nizam-ul-Mulk's strong administration of the Deccan[46] and Ghulam Husain also remarks : "It is such an extensive tract (the Deccan Subah) that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years."[47] He realised that the pretensions of the growing Maratha power were incompatible with the establishment of his own authority in the Deccan, and there begun therefore a quarrel between him and the Marathas which lasted for more than a decade, but ultimately "in August, 1731, Baji Rao and the Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the South, the Peshwa in the North."[48] At the time of Nadir's invasion the Nizam was called by the Delhi Emperor to negotiate the terms of a compromise with Nadir Shah. Though successful at first in bringing about a fair agreement considering the plight, he failed to comply with Nadir Shah's increasing demands instigated by his rival the Oudh Nawab, and was imprisoned

44 *Journal of Indian History*, August 1929, p. 198.

45 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 154; Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 527.

46 Elliot, Vol. II, p. 530.

47 Siyar, Vol. III, p. 283.

48 Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, Vol. II, 212.

by Nadir. After Nadir's departure from India he retired at the age of 82 for good to the Deccan, where domestic troubles kept him busy till his death (at 91) in 1748.[49] After this the Deccan succession question gave further opportunities (already afforded by the Carnatic succession) to the European powers to fish in the troubled waters of the South.

The decline of the Mughal Empire was synchronous with a Hindu revival manifesting itself in the disaffection of the Hindu subjects in general and in the attempts of the hitherto subordinate Hindu powers, the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs and the Jats to assert their own independence and to extend their territories and political influence. This revival, indeed, had its birth 370 yars ago, in 1336, when after the high-water mark of Muslim advance in India had been reached, the ebb-tide began with the Hindu recovery of the South by Vijayanagar ; thenceforward on the whole Islam steadily lost ground in India till 1526, as much by the break-up and mediocrity of the Delhi Empire and rise of Hindu states, as by Hindu religious and cultural revival and interaction of Hindu and Muslim civilizations. Even during the period 1526—1707, this lost ground could not fully be regained, for Babar's and Humayun's empire was only a piece of foreign Muslim adventure at the cost of Indian Muslims and on the point of being foiled by the Rajputs,—and it was lost by the rising of the former, while it could only be re-established firmly by the support of the latter ; in fact Akbar's reign is more a period of Hindu revival than of Muslim advance. With Jahangir this tendency was checked ; the cause of Islam began to gain with Shahjahan, and Auragzeb was plainly determined to recover the last ground from the Hindus. But even then, weighing ultimate gains and losses, we find that Aurangzeb failed entirely in stemming the ebb-tide in the fortunes of Islam in India that had begun so long ago ; he only succeeded in importing a certain bitterness (which was not much in evidence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) to this inevitable trial of strength between two historical forces working in the same

49 *Tarikh-i-Muzffari,* Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 318.

country. It would not, however, be quite correct to suppose that in this eighteenth century Hindu revival there was much of a native all-India nationalism or a religious and cultural renaissance. Even Shivaji's comparatively narrow ideal of a Hindu empire was lost sight of by his successors in the eighteenth century. Except very occasionally the Hindu princes and peoples did not act in concert, and among the Marathas (as among the Rajputs) mutual rivalry and jealousy of the leaders was very prominent ; while the interest of their fellow-men, the Hindu masses, were ever being sacrificed by them at the altar of ambition and greed.

At the suggestion of Zulfikar Khan, Azam Shah released Shivaji II, better known as Sahu, in 1707 in order to create a division among the Marathas. It is not correct to hold that just after the death of Aurangzeb the Marathas " planned an aggressive warfare against the Mughals with the deliberate determination of founding an empire. For a few years after the arrival of Sahu in Maharashtra they were absorbed in their domestic troubles, and Sahu himself was strongly opposed to the very idea of making war on the Mughals"[50] Tara Bai refused to acknowledge the claims of Sahu and a protracted civil war ensued in which Sahu ultimately triumphed with the help and advice of a Chitpavan Brahmana from the Konkan, Balaji Viswanath.

Balaji Viswanath was born in poverty. In 1708 he was employed as Carcoon or revenue clerk by Dhanaji Jadave, the *senapati* or Commander-in-Chief of Sahu.[51] After the death of Dhanaji, he was associated with his son Chandra Sena Jadave, who in 1712 gave him the title of *Sena Karte* or " agent in charge of the army."[52] Thus a Brahmin clerk changed his pen for the sword and appeared many a time in fields of battle. He gave proof of his civil and military abilities and rendered brilliant services to Sahu, who appointed him

50 Sinha, *The Rise of the Peshwas,* Journal of Indian History, August 1928, p. 203 ; Sardeshi, *op. cit.,* p. 102.

51 Grant Duff, Vol. I, pp. 418-419.

52 *Ibid.,* p. 431.

Peshwa, in place of Bhairo Pant Pingley, on 16th November, 1713. Theoretically, the Pratinidhi was superior to the Peshwa, but by dint of their abilities Balaji Viswanath and his son Baji Rao I made the Peshwa the actual head of the Maratha Empire.

The disturbed politics of the Mughal Empire gave the Marathas a good opportunity for enhancing their power. With the support of Zulfikar Khan they could extort some concessions from Bahadur Shah and Daud Khan Punni promised to pay the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* to Sahu, though it was arranged that these were to be collected and paid by his officer Hiraman. But it was in the time of Farrukhsiyar that the Marathas secured a decided position of advantage. When Husain Ali came to the Deccan, he was harassed by the Marathas in several indecisive engagements. The Emperor (Farrukhsiyar) encouraged the Marathas against Husain Ali,[53] who, therefore, changed his plans and made overtures for a peace with the Marathas by sending as his envoy Sankaraji Malhar, who had been the 'Sachiv' in the reign of Raja Ram,[54] but had later on entered the Mughal Imperial service and was then in the camp of Husain Ali. Through his efforts a treaty was concluded on the following terms: (1) All the territories belonging to Shivaji and lost to the Mughals were to be restored to Sahu, and the provinces of Khandesh, Gondwana, Berar, and the districts in Hyderabad and Karnatak, conquered by the Marathas, were to be added to them. (2) The *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi* over the six Subahs of the Deccan were to be assigned to Sahu who in return was to maintain 15,000 horse for the Emperor's service and to pay an annual tribute of ten lakhs of rupees, and preserve peace and order in the six Subahs of the Deccan.[55] Besides these Sahu was to share the *abwabs* or additional cesses, called Faujdari, Shikkdari, Ziyafat, etc.[56] This treaty has been

53 Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. VII, p. 464.

54 Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, J. I. H., August 1929, p. 210.

55 *Ibid.* To this may be traced the origin of the British policies of Subsidiary Alliance and Imperial Service Troops.

56 Khafi Khan, Elliot, Vol. II, p. 467.

rightly regarded as " a landmark in Maratha History."[57] By it the Marathas were practically recognised " as co-partners in the revenues of the Imperial provinces, and, as a corollary, in political power there."[58] Altogether half the total government revenues in Central and Peninsular India were placed at the disposal of Sahu besides an important sovereign right, namely, the right of preserving peace and order with a considerable armed force.

To foil the designs of the anti-Sayyid party, which had then become ascendant at the Delhi Court, Husain Ali marched there with his new allies the Marathas and by deposing and blinding the ungrateful and conspiring Emperor Farrukhsiyar (28th February, 1719) placed Rafi-ud-Darajat on the throne. The new Emperor, a puppet in his hands, confirmed the treaty already arranged between Husain Ali and Sahu.

This journey of the Marathas to Delhi to take part in the attractive business of King-making, " is a momentous episode in their history." Besides immediate advantages, they saw with their own eyes the rotten state of the Mughal Empire, once surrounded with a halo of power and glory. The descendants of Babar and Akbar were now mere state-prisoners in the hands of ambitious courtiers, to be exhibited or done away with as policy or prudence required. " The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the King-makers, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and unmake Emperors. Indeed, it was the surest basis on which Balaji Viswanath could confidently build his policy of founding a Maratha Empire on the ruins of the Mughal Empire."[59] To realise his ambitions Balaji Viswanath also tried to secure the alliance of the Rajputs, in the North. In the South, the Nizam-ul-Mulk reluctantly acquiesced in the claims of the Marathas to a share of revenues and power, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. The revival of the Jagir system in the days of Raja

57 *Vide* note 55.

58 Owen, p. 146.

59 Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, J. I. H., August 1929, p. 215.

Ram had given the Maratha adventurers opportunities for carving out independent principalities for themselves. Balaji Viswanath assigned separate areas to the different Maratha officers for collecting the *chauth* and the *sardeshmukhi* and this added to their power and they often participated in the quarrels of the Muslim nobles as paid partisans.

After Balaji's death his son Baji Rao was invested with the office of the Peshwa on the 17th April, 1720, in spite of the opposition of a hostile party led by the Pratinidhi Sripat Rao. Baji Rao was an able soldier and statesman. He initiated the forward policy of Maratha expansion in the North (beyond the Narbada) in the teeth of opposition from a party which urged Sahu to consolidate his power in the Deccan before venturing on northern conquests. The latter were probably in the right,—for by leaving the Peninsula for the Northern ' push,' a hostile Muslim power was left in the rear to prove a continuous drag on resources, opportunity was given for the rise of another such power even stronger, in Mysore, and the field was prepared for the internecine Peninsular struggles taking advantage of which the French and then the English rose to political power in India. What the Marathas lost by this policy of neglecting the consolidation of the South was gained ultimately by the English (the French and Mysore failing). But for the time being, the temptation of playing the part of king-makers in the North and thus enjoying unbounded power and wealth and of feeding fat the ancient grudge against the Mughal Empire led Baji Rao away from the less glamorous work of sound empire-building. He saw that the days of the Mughal Empire were numbered, and that there could not be a more favourable time for establishing the supremacy of the Marathas over it. Bold and imaginative, he suggested to Sahu, " Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree (the Mughal Empire) ; the branches will fall of themselves. Thus should the Maratha flag fly from the Kristna to the Indus."[60] Baji Rao rightly realised that he must secure the alliance of

[60] Irvine, Vol. II, p. 165.

the Rajputs and other Hindu Chiefs for this object. To evoke Hindu sympathy, he preached the ideal of 'Hindu Pad Padshahi' or Hindu Empire. Thus there were, as Prof. Sinha writes, two decisive factors in the successful execution of Baji Rao's policy—"the first was the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire; the second was the friendliness of the Rajputs."[61]

In spite of the activities of an opposition party at home and of the Nizam-ul-Mulk in his rear, Baji Rao proceeded to give effect to his policy of aggression in the North.[62] In December 1723, he entered Malwa at the head of a large army, defeated the Mughal Governor Sayyid Bahadur Shah and captured the capital Ujjain. He left his subordinate chieftains, Udai Pawar at Dhar, Malhar Rao at Indore and Ranoji Sindhia at Ujjain for realising the annual contribution.[63] Here Baji Rao was helped by Hindu allies like Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur and Nandalal Mandloi Chowdhry of Indore. In 1723 the Marathas also "imposed a regular tribute on Gujrat." When about the middle of 1725 Gujrat was transferred from the Nizam-ul-Mulk to Sarbuland Khan, Hamid Khan, deputy of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, offered resistance to the deputy of the newly appointed Governor with the help of the Marathas under Pilaji Gaekwar and Kantaji, who were in return assigned the *chauth* of the districts north of the Mahi. Fresh bands of Maratha adventurers made repeated incursions into Gujrat and harassed Sarbuland Khan in many ways. From 1727 the whole of Gujrat was subject to ravages owing to the contests between the rival agents of Baji Rao and of Trimbak Rao (the hereditary *Senapati* or Commander-in-Chief). Baji

61 Sinha's *Rise of the Peshwas*, J. I. H., August 1929, p. 183.

62 "It is said the Marathas had always their faces to the north. The principal gate of the Peshwa's palace at Poona is called the Delhi gate and faces the north; indeed all capitals of the various Maratha Sardars had their main gates invariably in this direction, a significant fact which all students of Maratha History must carefully note."—Sardesai, *Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 109.

63 Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, J. I. H., August 1929, p. 197.

Rao at last negotiated with Sarbuland Khan a settlement " that if the one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenues of the province were granted to him he would protect Gujrat from other invaders," to the great resentment of the rival Maratha party in Gujrat.

Meanwhile, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had returned to the Deccan in 1725, became convinced that the activities of Baji Rao would stand right in the way of his supremacy in the Deccan, and he, therefore, devoted himself heart and soul to oppose these. The Nizam incited many of the Maratha chieftains against Baji Rao and even tried to poison Sahu's mind against the Peshwa. By grant of *jagirs*, he converted many of these Maratha chieftains into his allies and he also instigated Raja Sambhuji (of the Kolhapur branch of Shivaji's family) against Sahu (of the Satara branch). The Nizam, Sambhuji and Trimbak Rao Dhabade (whose interests in Gujrat had been baffled by Baji Rao) made a common cause against Sahu and Baji Rao, who were thus constantly engaged against these hostile forces from 1727 to 1731. But Baji Rao, by his superior genius, foiled the plans of the confederates, and his great antagonist Trimbak Rao Dhabade lost his life on April 1, 1731, in a battle with him on the plains of Bhilapur near Dhabai between Baroda and that town. This victory of Baji Rao " forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwas." It left him " with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty."

The destruction of Dhabade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam's intrigues and he realised that, under the then circumstances, it would be advisable for him to come to terms with Baji Rao. The Peshwa also now came round to the view (of his political opponents) that he could not carry on his campaigns effectively in the North while the Nizam-ul-Mulk continued to threaten his base in the Deccan ; thus community of self-interest drew them together. Accordingly in August 1731, Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north. The immediate effects of this compromise were startling. The Marathas

poured into Central India with an irresistible force and occupied Malwa and Bundelkhand. In 1737 Baji Rao pushed on to the vicinity of Delhi, but did not attack the Imperial capital and even refrained from plundering its suburbs. The emboldened Emperor then thought of fighting the Marathas by combining his own forces with those of the Nizam-ul-Mulk whom he now summoned from the Deccan. The Nizam-ul-Mulk, the arch-enemy of Baji Rao, readily responded to the appeal and repaired to Delhi, where he collected forces and secured the services of some of the Rajput clans. But he was defeated near Bhopal and was compelled to come to terms, whereby he promised " in his own handwriting to grant to Baji Rao the whole of Malwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Nerbuddha and the Chambul ; to obtain a confirmation of this cession from the Emperor ; and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, to defray the Peshwa's expenses."[64] When the imperial sanction to these acknowledgments were received later, the Maratha power, already established *de facto*, became so *de jure* even in Hindusthan proper.[65]

On the west coast the Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese thus completing their decline that had begun just a century ago. When Nadir Shah invaded India, Baji Rao tried to present a united opposition with his Muslim neighbours against the common enemy, but before anything could be accomplished, he died prematurely in April 1740 at the age of only forty-two.

Baji Rao's son Balaji, commonly called Nana Saheb,[66] was appointed to the Peshwaship at the age of 18 in spite of the opposition of some Maratha chiefs, especially Raghuji Bhonsla of Berar. He was a man of ability, though lacking in superior talents, and " after the manner of his father engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organisation and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions

64 Gant Duff, Vol. I, p. 341.
65 Owen, p. 198.
66 Sardesai, *Main Currents*, p. 125.

of war."[67] Balaji loved ease and pleasure, " which did not, however, lose him the respect and attachment of his people,"[68] and he was served by a number of able and experienced councillors who had also served his father. When Sahu died in 1749, he left " a deed empowering the Peshwa to manage the whole government of the Maratha Empire, on condition of his perpetuating the Raja's name, and keeping up the dignity of the house of Shivaji, through the grandson of Tara Bai, and his descendants. This paper also directed that the Kolhapur State should always be considered an independent sovereignty ; that the Jagheers, as now existing, were to be confirmed to the holders, leaving power with the Peshwa to conclude such arrangements with the Jagheerdars, as might be beneficial for extending Hindoo power ; for protecting the temples of the Gods ; the cultivators of the soil, and whatever was sacred or useful."[69] Thus the Peshwa became the real head of the Maratha confederacy and Poona became the military and political headquarters of the state, and the Raja remained at Satara as a tool in the hands of his " Mayor of the Palace." But this settlement was not accepted without a struggle. Tara Bai with the co-operation of Damaji Gaikwad rose in arms against the Peshwa and placed the young Raja under confinement. The plans of Tara Bai and Gaikwad were frustrated by Balaji and the Raja remained a prisoner at the court of Satara. Mr. Sardesai points out that the usurpation of the power of the Chhatrapatis (Kings) by the Peshwa was not due to any sinister motives on the part of the latter, and that this change " did not affect or interrupt the forward policy " of Maratha expansion.[70] But it should not be forgotten that Balaji rejected his father's ideal of ' Hindu Pad Padshahi ' with all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. His followers took to the plan of predatory warfare, which produced devasting effects in the areas

67 *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 263.

68 An account of the last battle of Panipat, by Kasi Raja Pandit, edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, p. 1.

69 Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 35.

70 *Main Currents*, I, p. 126.

of their activities. He himself carried an expedition into Bengal pretending to comply with the Mughal Emperor's request to help the Nawab of Bengal against Raghoji who had invaded it on behalf of the Maratha state, but was his rival ; so that in reality he was furthering his own interests at the cost of the confederacy.[71] The depredations of his lieutenants alienated the Rajputs, and destroyed all chances of a combination of Hindu states under one flag against the Muslim powers, native or invading. He effected a revolutionary change in the military organisation of the state. The army came to be composed not only of light infantry and cavalry in which lay its chief strength in the time of Shivaji and Baji Rao, but also of foreign artillerymen and mercenaries of all descriptions admitted with the object of introducing Western method of warfare. Thus the army lost its national character and the old method of fighting was partly given up. Balaji did not realise that it was not easy to organise and discipline a body of mercenaries, composed of different alien elements, and that it could not be expected to work so satisfactorily as the national army of a state, acting under the inspiration of a common ideal. He not only damaged the ideal but also the means of giving effect to it.

The defects in his policy did not, however, immediately affect the success of his plans and the Maratha ascendancy reached its zenith in his time. In 1756 Raghunath Rao was sent into Hindusthan, accompanied by Sakharam Bapper as his Diwan and also Mulhar Rao Holkar. In the Carnatic the Marathas at first suffered some reverses. About sixty thousand Marathas appeared before Seringapatam in the month of March 1757, and exacted tributes from most of the principalities south of the Kristna. The Nabob of Arcot promised to pay " two lakhs in ready money, and two-and-half lakhs in assignments " for arrears of *chauth*.[72] They invaded the Hindu state of Mysore and on one occasion extorted thirty-two lakhs from its ruler. They also invaded Bednore on the opposite

[71] K. K. Datta, *The Marathas in Bengal*, J.B.H.S., March 1931, p. 7.
[72] Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 103.

side of the Peninsula and helped the English, under Clive and Watson, in reducing the pirate, Angira. But, Hyder, the rising general of Mysore, tried to oppose their pretensions, and they also met with some reverses owing to the superior tactics of Bussy and the hostile proceedings of Nizam Ali (son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk). The Peshwa, however, marched again at the head of a large army and accompanied by Sadasiv Rao to the South, and defeated Nizam Ali at Udgir (1760). Ibrahim Khan Gardi, a clever artilleryman trained in European methods of fighting under Bussy in the Nizam's army, had joined the Marathas. Nizam Ali was compelled to conclude a treaty with the Peshwa by which the Marathas obtained the whole province of Bijapur, almost the whole of that of Aurangabad and a part of Bedar, together with several forts, including the famous fortress of Daulatabad.[73] All these territories yielded an annual revenue of more than sixty-two lakhs. Thus the Maratha power became immensely increased in the Deccan and the " Mughal possessions in the Deccan were now confined to an insulated space."[74]

In the meantime, in the north the Sindhia and the Holkar were called in by Safdar Jang, Governor of Oudh, against the Afghan Rohillas, who were defeated and driven into the Kumayun mountains. The Marathas received in return fifty lakhs of rupees. Similarly, summoned by Ghazi-ud-din, Raghunath Rao, brother of the Peshwa, appeared before Delhi with a strong force and proceeded up to the Punjab, where he defeated the Abdali invader's Governor and entered Lahore in triumph in the month of May 1758. Soon after Dattaji Sindhia drove the Rohillas out of their country. Thus the Marathas were victorious practically throughout the whole of India.

But their north-western push brought upon India another invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1759), who this time secured the co-operation of the harassed Rohillas and also of the Nawab

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 125; *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, Elliot, Vol. VIII, p. 264.

[74] Grant Duff, Vol. II, p. 126.

of Oudh, who now came to regard the Marathas as the greatest enemies of the Muslim position in India. The Rajputs, who had been alienated by Balaji's unsympathetic policy, maintained neutrality. Nor were the Marathas able to win over the Sikhs and make the Punjab their recruiting ground. Ahmad Shah Abdali easily reconquered the Punjab from the Marathas and proceeded towards Delhi. The Sindhia and the Holkar were not strong enough to defend Hindusthan against the Afghan invasion and so the Peshwa recruited a vast army numbering about two lakhs from the South to contend for the dominion of India. The nominal command of this army was given to the Peshwa's son Biswas Rao, a youth of seventeen years, but the real commander was Sadasiv Rao, or the Bhao, who with the Peshwa had just won the battle of Udgir in the south. Ibrahim Khan Gardi, with 2,000 horse, 9,000 trained artillerymen and 40 pieces of cannon,[75] and Rajah Suraj Mal of Bharatpur with 8,000 Jats, joined the Bhao. The whole Maratha army consisted of 50,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry besides 200 pieces of cannon and numerous rockets and shuternals (camel-guns).[76] The strength of the Durrani army was 41,800 cavalry, 38,000 infantry and about 80 pieces of cannon.[77]

The Afghans and the Marathas met at the historic field of Panipat, where the Bhao fixed his camp, enclosing it with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, with a good rampart on which he mounted his cannon ; Ahmad Shah encamped about eight miles from the Maratha lines. The two armies remained in front of each other for more than a month. In the Maratha rank, the generals became divided in their opinions about the plan of warfare. Many of them and Suraj Mal the Jat asked the Bhao to follow the old predatory tactics. But the Bhao refused to accept their suggestions, upon which the Jat leader left the Maratha army and other Maratha chiefs

[75] Kasi Raja Pandit, *The Third Battle of Panipat*, p. 19.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 18. Kasi Raja Pandit gives these numbers after " having made repeated and particular enquiries."

like Malhar Rao Holkar fought half-heartedly. On the 14th of January, 1761, the Maratha army began the offensive operations. The Marathas were arranged in three wings by the Bhao, Ibrahim Khan Gardi being posted to his left and the Sindhia to his right. Ahmad Shah commanded in person with his Vezir Shah Wali in the centre, the Rohillas on the right, and the Nawab of Oudh on the left. The Marathas fought with the valour of despair and gained some initial success. The Afghan centre was broken and Gardi's troops created a confusion among the Rohillas killing 8,000 of them. On hearing of this disaster, Ahmad Shah collected fresh reinforcements at the psychological moment and made a terrible attack on the Maratha army from all sides. " This close and violent attack lasted for an hour, during which they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Between two and three o'clock, Biswas Rao was wounded and dismounted from his horse ; which being reported to the Bhao he had his disabled nephew carried to him and placed on his own elephant. The Bhao himself continued the action nearly half an hour longer on horseback, at the head of his men ; when all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Maratha army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury ; and as they gave no quarter, the slaughter was immense, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve *coss* in every direction in which they fled.[78] Nearly forty thousand Maratha prisoners were taken alive, of whom six or seven thousands found shelter in Shujauddowla's camp and the rest were murdered in cold blood by the Durranies. Thus thousands of souls in the Maratha camp, of all descriptions, men, women and children, lost their lives. " The plunder found in the Maratha camp was prodigiously great horses were driven away in flocks like sheep ; and great numbers of elephants were also taken."[79] Ibrahim Khan Gardi was cruelly put to death after seven days ;

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

79 *Ibid.*

the dead bodies of the Bhao and of Santaji Rao Ghorpade were found out after some search and were taken to Ahmad Shah's camp, who ordered these to be burnt along with that of Biswas Rao according to the custom of their caste. Ahmad Shah next proceeded to Delhi, but left it shortly after, on March 22.

The news of this terrible disaster was brought to the Peshwa in a merchant's message: "Two peals have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The Peshwa proceeded slowly to Poona and soon died of a broken heart.

The third battle of Panipat, no doubt, dealt a terrible blow on the Marathas, but it did not completely crush their power for ever. They quickly made up the losses of this disaster and made more or less successful attempts to re-establish their authority in Hindusthan. The Abdali could not remain as a permanent check to their revival, as he could not retain the Punjab for a long time, having to leave India early in March 1761 to look after his own affairs at home. On the other hand, the next Peshwa Madhav Rao set himself to repair the damage and "carried out the aims and objects of the Maratha policy as laid down by the first Peshwa" till 1772. In fact, the decline in the fortunes of the Marathas began not from the day on which they suffered the disaster at Panipat but since the day which witnessed the premature death of Madhav Rao I, who has been justly regarded as the greatest of the Peshwas.[79a] Grant Duff supports this view plainly when he writes that "the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince." Then again in the course of the next twenty-five years Madhaji Sindhia made the Maratha power felt once again in Hindusthan and the Marathas twice tried to oppose with great strength the progress of the British power before they were finally crushed. But none the less Panipat "decided the fate of India." "The Marathas and the Muhammadans weakened each other in that deadly

[79a] Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 147—154.

conflict, facilitating the aims of the British for Indian supremacy."[79b] It gave the growing British power the opportunity it needed for strengthening its hold on India. If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Panipat afforded time for their maturing and striking roots. When the Marathas again appeared to oppose the growth of the English Company, the latter was distinctly in a better position in India than before.

The principal Rajput States also tried to assert their power after the death of Alamgir, their oppressor, who had alienated their loyalty. Amar Singh of Mewar (Udaipur), Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur), and Ajit Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur), tried to cast off their allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. But when Bahadur Shah proceeded to subdue them Amar Singh submitted without any resistance and sent presents to the Emperor through his brother Bakht Singh. The Emperor next brought Jaipur under his control and made it over to Bijay Singh, Jai Singh's brother. Ajit Singh also tendered his submission to the Emperor, who conferred on him the title of Maharaja and raised the dignity of his rank. But very soon Ajit Singh, Jai Singh and Durgadas Rathor left the Emperor's camp on the 30th April, 1708. They again formed a coalition among themselves for joint resistance to the Emperor. They harassed the officers of the Emperor in different parts of Rajputana and gained some successes against them. Bahadur Shah adopted conciliatory measures and pacified the Rajput chiefs, as the Sikhs had risen in revolt in the north of Sirhind. Taking advantage of the turmoils that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, Ajit Singh again defied the Imperial authority and invaded the Imperial territories. Sayyid Husain Ali was sent to subdue the Raja, but so vitiated was the party politics of the time that the Emperor and the anti-Sayyid party sent secret instructions to Ajit Singh "urging him to make away with Husain Ali in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakshi's property and treasure would become his; and he

[79b] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

would, in addition, receive other rewards."[80] Ajit Singh, however, would not or could not carry out these instructions and came to terms with Husain Ali without any battle (1714). The Raja agreed to give one of his daughters to the Emperor (the actual marriage being celebrated the next year).

In the time of Farrukhsiyar the " houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur played a conspicuous part in Delhi politics and by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the Empire." The Sayyids tried to strengthen their own party by conciliating the Rajput chiefs, who obtained various appointments. Ajit Singh received (besides full sovereignty in his own dominions) the governments of Ajmer and Gujrat, which he held till 1721. After the accession of Muhammad Shah, Jai Singh of Jaipur was conciliated by a large gift of money and the government of the Sarkar of Surat. After the fall of the Sayyids he became also the Governor of Agra. " In this way the country from a point sixty miles south of Delhi to the shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of these two Rajas, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on this exposed frontier."[81] Ajit Singh secretly helped the Marathas in their activities in Western India, but owing to the court reaction against the Sayyid brothers, who had been in alliance with the Rajputs, he was deprived of his government of Gujrat, at a very inopportune moment, when the said Subah was in the welter of internal disorders, and Haider Quli was appointed in his place : so that Jodhpur was alienated, while Gujrat slipped from Mughal hands. Ajit Singh met with a tragic death at the hands of his second son Bakht (Bhakt) Singh, the mystery behind which remains practically unexplained.

The Sikhs after Govind's assassination in the Deccan in 1708 found a leader in Banda, about whose origin and early career nothing trustworthy has been known. He gathered round him a large party of the Sikhs and proceeded to the north. He captured Sirhind, wreaked a terrible revenge on

80 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 286.

81 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 4.

Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of that place and the murderer of Guru Govind's children. The Faujdar was killed and among his followers " not a single Muhammadan escaped with anything but clothes upon his back." Banda committed great atrocities throughout the whole province of Sirhind: " for the space of four days the town was given up to pillage, the mosques were defiled, the houses burnt, and the Muhammadans slaughtered ; even then women and children were not spared."[82] All power now passed into the hands of the Sikhs and one Bar Singh, belonging to paragana Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Doab, was appointed Governor of Sirhind. Banda next occupied the country between Sutlej and Jumna and established the stronghold of Lohgarh (or Blood and Iron Fort) at Mukhlispur (half-way between Nahan and Sadhaura), where he " tried to assume something of regal state " and coins were struck in his name.[83] The local officers of the Emperor were employed in quelling the Sikh rising when the Emperor himself arrived there and besieged Banda's fort Lohgarh, but Banda escaped with many of his followers from the place into the hills north of Lahore. But after the death of Bahadur Shah, Banda came out of his hiding place, took possession of the town of Badhaura, restored the fort of Lohgarh and again plundered the province of Sirhind. After the accession of Farrukhsiyar, the Mughal officers chastised Banda and his followers. A large number of them were killed in battle, " contending among themselves for martyrdom and many were captured after a fierce resistance. Banda was taken to Delhi in mock state on an elephant and was subjected to great torture. Banda replied to the taunts of a Muhammadan noble that he had been " a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked, and that he was now receiving the meed of his own crimes against the Almighty." It is said that he was asked to kill his own son, which he did " silent and unmoved and he himself was tormented to death under the feet of elephants."

82 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 96.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

After the death of Banda " an active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs " and they sunk into insignificance for a generation. But the " tenets of Nanuk and Govind had nevertheless taken deep root in the hearts of the people ; the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy victory."[84] They raised their hands for some time after Nadir Shah's invasion had given a rude shock to the Emperor's authority in upper India. They established a fort at Dolhwal on the Ravi and began levying contributions round Eminabad, lying to the north of Lahore, but they were at last dispersed about 1745 A.D. They did not however give up hopes and after the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali they established a fort near Amritsar under their new leader Jussa Singh Kullal. But Mir Munnu, the Governor of the Punjab, captured their fort and dislodged them. After the second invasion of the Abdali and the consequent disorder in the Punjab, the Sikhs " virtually possessed themselves of the country lying between Amritsar and the hills." But they were soon subdued by Adina Beg, who, however, granted them favourable terms and took many of them into his service (1752). But when after his fourth invasion, Ahmad Shah Abdali left his son Timur Shah as the Governor of the Punjab, the latter expelled the Sikhs from Amritsar, but they soon occupied Lahore, where Jussa Singh used the mint of the Mughals in striking rupees bearing the inscription : " Coined by the grace of the ' Khalsa ' in the country of Ahmed conquered by Jussa the Kullal." After the third battle of Panipat, the disturbed political condition of the country was availed of by the Sikhs to increase their strength and they greatly harassed the Abdali during his return from India. They soon made themselves masters of Lahore and their chiefs met in a general assembly at Amritsar, where they " proclaimed their own sway and the prevalence of their faith, by issuing coins with an inscription to the effect that Gooroo Govind had received from Nanuk ' Deg, Tegh, and Futteh ' or grace, power and rapid victory."[85]

84 Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 116.
85 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

It was under Churaman, who had assumed the leadership of the Jats after the death of his father Bhajja Singh of Sinsani, that the Jats rose into prominence in the early part of the eighteenth century. Churaman " had a genius for organisation and making clever use of opportunities." The decay of the Imperial authority and the disturbed politics of the time afforded a fair field for his ambitious spirit, and by timely revolts or submissions, he greatly added to the power of the Jats before he committed suicide (September-October 1721) owing to the rude behaviour of his eldest son Mukkam Singh. He was succeeded as the leader of the Jats by his nephew Badan Singh who established the authority of his house " over almost the whole of the Agra and Mathura districts, partly by posing as the protector of the Hindus against Muslim rule, but mainly by clever matrimonial alliances with some powerful Jat families of those places."[86] He disliked predatory habits and was a man of pacific nature and of some æsthetic taste. He died on the 7th June, 1756.

Badan Singh's son and successor Rajah Suraj Mall, who has been described by a contemporary historian as ' the Plato of the Jat tribe ' and by a modern writer as the " Jat Ulysses,"[87] because of his " political sagacity, a steady intellect and a clear vision," played an important part in the political affairs of his times, and extended the authority of the Jats over the districts of Agra, Dholpur, Mainpuri, Hathras, Aligarh, Etah, Meerut, Rohtak, Farrukhnagar, Mewat, Rewari, Gurgaon and Mathura, besides the original principality of Bhratpur. The right bank of the Ganges formed the eastern boundary of the Jat Kingdom, the Chambal the southern, the Subah of Agra included in the territory of the Rajah of Jaipur the western, and the Subah of Delhi the northern.[88]

86 Prof. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, Vol. I, p. 61.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

CHAPTER III

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS IN INDIA

(EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

IN the eighteenth century, India witnessed on her soil not merely the rivalries of the native powers with one another or of the English East India Company with these powers, but also the bitter and repeated conflicts between the English and the French. With the gradual dismemberment of the Mughal Empire order and peace disappeared, and on every side adventurers, both native and foreign, found scope for ambitious and stormy careers. We have already seen how the French and the English Companies were each improving their positions in India step by step. By 1742 the interests of the two powers came into collision, and the echo of a war in Europe reached the distant shores of India. Henceforth the wars between the French and the English have not merely local causes or importance, but they are connected with the histories of America and Asia. Voltaire truly wrote, " the first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia." The War of the Austrian Succession, which had broken out in 1740, and in which the French and the English were engaged in aid of opposite parties, thus produced hostilities between the two nations in India.

There were four stages of the Anglo-French conflict in India, the first from 1746—1748, the second from 1749—1754, the third from 1757—1763, and the fourth from 1778—1815. Except in the third stage these conflicts were mainly confined to Southern India, and we should, therefore, first of all review the political condition in that region in order to follow the history of these conflicts properly.

The whole of the Deccan (roughly the country south of the Narmada and the Mahanadi and from coast to coast) was

claimed by the Nizam as his Subah. On the east coast there were three important cities, each a place of trade: Negapatam under the Dutch, Pondicherry, under the French, and Madras under the English. At Arcot was the Nawab of the Carnatic,[1] dependent on the Nizam, but always trying to convert his official appointment into a hereditary rule. The Kingdom of Trichinopoly, at the time of its annexation to the Carnatic in 1736 or 1737, was under a Hindu princess, the widow of the last Nayak, whose family had established its power there on the break-up of the Vijayanagar Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Tanjore was a little Maratha Jagir, established as a result of the Maratha advance into the Carnatic in the seventeenth century. Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subadar of the Deccan, had for all practical purposes made himself independent of the effete Emperor of Delhi. In the Carnatic a strong Muhammadan dynasty of Nawabs soon established itself owing only a nominal submission to the Nizam, and these Nawabs tried to extend the limits of their kingdom. Nawab Dost Ali's son Safdar Ali[2] and his son-in-law Chand Sahib conquered Trichinopoly in 1736 (or 1737). and Madura was occupied by Chand Sahib's brother. But in spite of their repeated attempts, sometimes with the help of the French, they could not conquer Tanjore. The growth of a new Muslim power in the south had excited the jealousy of the Marathas, who had not received the *chauth* from the Nawabs of Arcot for many years.[3] In May 1740, a strong Maratha force (100,000 according to Orme) under Raghuji

1 Carnatic included at this time (i) the east coast territory between the mouths of the Krishna and Kaveri, in which was situated Arcot, (ii) the east coast territory souh of the Kaveri, in which was situated Trichinopoly, and (iii) the adjacent part of the Deccan plateau, above the Eastern Ghats.

2 Dost Ali had two sons, of whom the elder was Safdar Ali, and several daughters, one of whom was married to his nephew Murtaza Ali and another to Chand Sahib.

3 Orme's *Historical of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindustan*, Vol. I, p. 41. Shahu, on release, had adopted the position of

Bhonsle[4] and Fateh Singh burst into the Carnatic. They were probably incited by their co-religionists, the Rajas of Mysore and Tanjore, who had suffered injuries at the hands of Chand Sahib ;[5] but "the common rumour was that they had been invited by Safdar Ali in jealousy of Chand Sahib's designs, or that they had been abetted by Nasir Jang, son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, in order to get them out of his father's territories.[6] In the battle that took place on the 20th of May, Dost Ali was defeated and slain with his second son Hasan Ali and his principal officers, his Diwan Mir Asad being taken prisoner. After this Safdar Ali took refuge in Vellore, but returned to Arcot after the departure of the Marathas, and Chand Sahib hurried back to Trichinopoly.[7] In the month of December the Marathas again appeared before Arcot, and Safdar Ali was obliged to come to terms by promising to pay a crore of rupees and to restore to the Hindus their old possessions. They reappeared in 1741, besieged Trichinopoly, and Chand Sahib, failing to pay the ransom that was demanded of him, was carried off prisoner. Murari Rao, one of their generals, was left with 14,000 troops under his command, as a deputy at Trichinopoly.[8]

a dependent sub-ruler under Mughal suzerainty; Balaji Visvanath had secured, through Husain Ali, the right, on behalf of Shahu, of collecting *chauth* as Mughal officer, from six provinces of the Deccan Subah which included Arcot.

4 This is perhaps the reason why Raghuji Bhonsle who was to have led an invasion to Bengal could not do so personally, and deputed Bhaskar Pandit to take up that work; *vide* K. K. Dutt, *The Marathas in Bengal,* in Journal of Bom. Hist. Soc., 1930-31.

5 Orme. In about the same time, the oppressed Hindu zamindars and Subjects in Bengal invited Shahu's and Raghuji Bhonsle's help, which led to Bhaskar Pandit's invasion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

6 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 118. So also in the case of the Maratha invasion of Bengal, the incitement of the Deccan Subahdar is alleged by contemporary historians.

7 Orme, p. 42. Safdar Ali had kept his family for the time being at Pondicherry.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The Maratha expeditions adversely affected the economic condition of the Carnatic[9] and gave a great shock to Safdar Ali's rule, for the want of a proper collection of revenues. He evaded paying the arrears of revenues to the Nizam-ul-Mulk and amused him with "humble excuses founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incursion of the Morattoes" (though he had deposited his wealth with his mother when she took refuge at Pondicherry).[10] "The Karnatic suffering from the famine; Chand Sahib a prisoner at Satara; his brother-in-law Nawab Safdar Ali pressed by his feudal superior for arrears of revenue: such was the condition of the Karnatik in the middle of 1741. It was worse for the people than for the rulers. The people had been plundered and had been starving."[11]

In the autumn of 1742 Safdar Ali went away to Vellore, sending the women and children of his family and his treasures to the custody of the English at Madras. But there he fell victim to a conspiracy planned by his cousin and brother-in-law Murtaza Ali and some of his own courtiers, who were discontented with him for his realising heavy contributions from them in order to pay off the stipulated sum to the Marathas. Murtaza Ali stabbed Safdar Ali to death on the 2nd October, 1742, and tried to take possession of the government of Arcot by proclaiming himself as its Nawab. But he was too weak to hold it long against the hostile attitude of the people and the troops, and fled back to Vellore, disguised as a woman. On his flight being known, Safdar Ali's infant son Seid Muhammad, who had been left with his mother at Madras, was for the time being recognised as the Nawab. But in the beginning of 1743, the Nizam-ul-Mulk appeared personally in

9 "The Morattoes (Marathas), after their victory sent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by these means did not answer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the strongholds with which the province abounds."—*Ibid.*, p. 42.

10 Orme, Vol. I, p. 45.

11 Malleson, *History of the French in India*, p. 103.

the Carnatic, compelled the Marathas to evacuate Trichinopoly, restored some order, and appointed Abdulla Khan to the government of Arcot. But the latter soon died, and Anwar-ud-din, an old officer of the Nizam, was appointed to succeed him as a temporary governor and guardian to the minor son of Safdar Ali. Seid Muhammad was soon murdered while attending a feast at Arcot, and Anwar-ud-din was confirmed in his appointment. But Anwar-ud-din's position was not quite safe. The partisans of Safdar Ali were still powerful, and, as Orme puts it, "the province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family of the race they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of Anwar-ud-din Khan's government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs."[12]

Thus there were many conflicting political forces in the Deccan, when it became the scene of hostilities between the two European nations. There were rumours about the outbreak of war between them from 1740, and in 1741, when the war seemed imminent, La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, prepared a squadron intended to intercept the English vessels, but very soon he had to send back the squadron home, as the authorities there thought that the crisis had been over; so the French had no strong ships of war left in India. Dupleix, who had become Governor of Pondicherry in 1742, hoped at that time for a "neutrality in India." But war soon broke out, and an English fleet under Commodore Barnett appeared on the Coromandel coast in 1745, and threatened Pondicherry. But he died soon, and was succeeded by Commodore Peyton in the command of the fleet. Dupleix then called La Bourdonnais, who had prepared a new squadron in the Isles and received reinforcements from France, to come to his rescue. La Bourdonnais reached Pondicherry in 1746, and had an indecisive engagement with Peyton on June 25 of that year.

12 Orme, Vol. I, p. 61.

After some unsuccessful attempts Peyton left the coast and sailed to Hugli for safety. Madras was then besieged by La Bourdonnais in September, and it surrendered after a feeble resistance under its governor Nicholas Morse. The English entered into a capitulation with the French by which it was agreed that the "English should surrender themselves prisoners of war; that the town should be immediately delivered up; but that it should be afterwards ransomed."[13]

But the unity of La Bourdonnais and Dupleix was not to last long; they entered into disputes about the disposal of Madras. The former wanted to carry out the terms of the capitulation and wanted that the English should ransom their settlement;[14] but Dupleix refused to give his consent to this arrangement, by which, as he pointed out, the Council at Pondicherry, would reap no advantage for their efforts and the interests of the French would suffer. He thought that he could not let slip this first great opportunity which had appeared, and he wanted to adopt, as Malleson writes, "that policy even then consecrated by genius, the policy of Alexander, of Hannibal, of Gustavus,—to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to use the means, which had been so wonderfully, so unexpectedly, placed at his disposal, to crush him at once and for ever. Madras in his hands, Fort St. David could scarcely hold out, and then, secure of the Coromandel coast, it might be possible to despatch a fleet to Bengal, to destroy the colony which had rivalled, and was threatening to surpass, his own tenderly nursed settlement of Chandranagar."[15] Letters were sent to La Bourdonnais pointing out to him that he was subject to the Superior Council of Pondicherry and could not act independently in the matter. Before proceeding to the siege of Madras La Bourdonnais had

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

14 Mill (*History of British India*, Vol. III, p. 69) notes that La Bourdonnais had an express order of 1741 from the French Government at home to restore Madras, for they had as yet no idea of conquest in India. But Dupleix wanted the expulsion of the English from the Coromandel coast, and he was now thinking of new conquests leading to the establishment of a French Empire.

15 Malleson, *History of the French in India*, p. 156.

himself demanded an Order in Council for that, and had thus virtually acknowledged the authority of the Council. He was therefore not justified in asserting his independent position on the strength of an old order of the home government in France. Dupleix " advised, he entreated, he menaced, he protested," but all in vain. La Bourdonnais concluded a treaty with the Madras Council, agreeing to restore Madras for £400,000. He also made personal gain by receiving a handsome bribe (100,000 ' pagodas ') from the English Governor,[16] which influenced his ideas greatly.

But this was not the only consideration of his opposing the policy of Dupleix, which was statesmanlike and which, if followed, would have given the French in India an advantage over their enemies ; there was besides this his determination " not to subordinate his will to the will of Dupleix." Dupleix was not actuated by motives of personal gain ; he believed that the restoration of Madras to the English would again endanger the position of the French. So when the Governor of the French in India, who had strained every nerve to prevent it,[17] heard of the transaction between La Bourdonnais and the English, his mind was filled with great anger and vexation, and very soon there ensued bitter personal quarrels between the two men. It was one of the misfortunes of the French in India, and it was due largely to the corrupt state of their government at home, that their governors, commanders and generals could not act in union for a long time.[18] But

16 *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

17 " in the name of God; in the name of your children, of your wife, I conjure you to be persuaded of what I tell you. Finish as you have begun, and do not treat with an enemy, who has no object but to reduce us to the most dire extremity . . . Let us then profit by our opportunity, for the glory of our monarch, and for the general interests of a nation which will regard you as its restorer in India."—Quoted in Malleson, p. 144.

18 " The ways of Europeans, who used always to act in union, have apparently now become like those of natives and Muhammadans."—*Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. II, p. 395.

the rigours of the monsoon and the effects of a hurricane during the early part of October, weakened La Bourdonnais' squadron greatly and he was obliged to leave behind him a large number of his followers, who went over to the side of Dupleix and the French troops under him swelled to 3,000 men. On the departure of La Bourdonnais Dupleix repudiated the treaty which the former had concluded with the English, seized Madras and took many of the English as prisoners to Pondicherry.

But Dupleix had now to face another difficulty. Nawab Anwar-ud-din had not been totally indifferent about these affairs. When La Bourdonnais had laid siege to Madras, he sent an urgent letter to Dupleix pressing for the withdrawal of French troops. Dupleix evaded him by the reply that he was conquering Madras for the Nawab. But when after its actual siege, he received "only excuses founded upon the alleged insubordination of the French official in command, and when he saw the French flag flying over Madras and the French busy in establishing their authority there, his patience gave way. He sent a body of troops under his eldest son Mapauhej Khan to compel the French to transfer Madras to him." Dupleix first determined "to employ every art, to exhaust every device, to induce the Nawab to forgo his claim, and to avert these hostilities" with him. But hostilities could not be prevented, and the Nawab's troops surrounded Madras. But they were ultimately defeated by Paradis[19] who was commanding the French detachment against them and had to give up the idea of gaining Madras.

Dupleix's ambition was not satisfied by the capture of Madras. He tried for eighteen months after the fall of Madras to capture Fort St. David, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry. But the French attack on Fort St. David was repelled by a brave English officer named Stringer Lawrence. On the other hand, a large English fleet arrived in the Coromandel

19 Paradis was a Swiss (at this time parts of Switzerland were under France). He had gained the favour of Dupleix by manifesting violent hostility to La Bourdonnais and had been appointed Governor of Madras.—Orme, Vol. I, p. 78.

coast early in August 1748, to avenge the siege of Madras under the command of Rear-Admiral Boscawen. The English now laid siege to Pondicherry but it was not skilfully conducted and the French defended themselves bravely. Boscawen raised the siege in the month of October and went away to Fort St. David. It has been said that " it was a conspicuous success for Dupleix and a conspicuous failure for the English."[20] Dupleix's prestige in the eye of the Indian powers was enhanced. He sent letters to the rulers of the south as well to the Emperor of Delhi acquainting them about his courageous defence of Pondicherry against the formidable force of the English and received in reply letters of congratulation.

Both the French and the English were preparing themselves for renewing the war with the approach of a favourable opportunity, when the news of the suspension of hostilities between France and England in Europe and the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) reached India. So they sheathed their swords and stopped their guns in India also. This treaty restored Madras to the English and Louisbourg in North America to the French. Dupleix's work was undone : the French had abandoned the sure in India for the uncertain in America, and presently lost there too.

In outward appearance the treaty restored the two powers to the positions they held before the outbreak of hostilities, but in reality a great change had come in. " The war of the Austrian Succession," writes Prof. Dodwell, " though in appearance it achieved nothing and left the political boundaries of India unaltered, yet marks an epoch in Indian history. It demonstrated the overwhelming influence of sea-power when intelligently directed, it displayed the superiority of European methods of war over those followed by Indian armies ; it revealed the political decay that had eaten into the heart of the Indian state system ; and its conclusion illustrated the resultant tendency of European traders to intrude into a world that had previously altogether ignored them. In short, it set

20 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 124.

the stage for the experiments of Dupleix and Clive." From simple trders the Europeans now began to be regarded by the rulers of the South, and then of the North, as powers, whose alliance and assistance were worth gaining. "From vassals they had jumped almost to the position of liege lords."[21]

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not the last act in the drama of Anglo-French rivalry in India. It simply closed one act, and a second followed within a year. The Wars of the Austrian Succession had immensely increased the prestige of the French in India, and the ambition of Dupleix now sought outlets for the advancement of French interest. The English also changed their character and attitude of peaceful traders and began to intervene in the troubled politics of the Deccan. One would have naturally expected and the Directors of the two Companies at home also thought that after such an exhausting war the French and the English would be disposed to live in goodwill with sincere attention to their respective commercial pursuits. But politics does not always run a smooth course, and unexpected circumstances sometimes appear to destroy hopes of reconciliation and produce new causes of struggles. It was not long after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and even before the English had re-entered Madras, that the English Governor Floyer and the French Governor Dupleix took sides in the rivalries of the neighbouring Indian princes, which brought them soon into direct conflict with each other.

It was the English Governor who led the way, by supporting the cause of Shahji, a dispossessed claimant of the throne of Tanjore, against Pratab Singh, the *de facto* ruler of the place.[22] The English had no concern in the affairs of Tanjore,

21 Malleson, p. 229.

22 The question of succession to the throne of Tanjore was a complicated one. Tanjore, one of the conquests of Shahji, father of the great Shivaji, was conferred by the latter on his brother Venkaji, who was succeeded by his son Tukaji. Tukaji died in 1738 leaving behind him two legitimate sons Baba Saheb and Shahji, and another named Pratab Singh by a concubine. Baba Saheb died shortly after his accession and after a short interregnum his brother Shahji obtained the throne of Tanjore. But in 1741 Shahji was deprived of the throne for his weak administration and it went to Pratab Singh.

but Shahji held out before them a prospect of gain by promising to give them Devikottai, a place at the mouth of the Coleroon, and to pay all the expenses of the war if it proved successful. The first expedition of the English against Pratab Singh failed in the face of a brave resistance by the latter, but a second expedition under the command of Major Lawrence successfully besieged Devikottai, which surrendered on June 23, 1749. The ruling prince came to terms with the English, who were allowed to keep Devikottai for themselves with so much of the surrounding territory as would produce an annual revenue of 36,000 rupees and Shahji's object was not fulfilled. He was kept under surveillance at Madras with a life-pension of 4,000 rupees.[23] "This occupation of Devikottai," remarks Mr. Martineau, "was nothing more than a belated and a rather futile reply to the occupation of Karikal by Governor Dumas some ten years earlier. It restored in that part of the Carnatic the balance which had inclined in favour of the French."[24]

The policy of interfering in the politics of the country, though begun by the English, was soon followed by the French in a more daring way. With the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah on 15th April, 1748, and of Asaf Jah the famous Nizam-ul-Mulk, on 21st May, 1748, even the semblance of cohesion and order that had been somehow preserved in the Deccan Subah began to disappear. Of the five sons of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, his second son Nasir Jang and his grandson Muzaffar Jang came forward as rival candidates for the Subadarship of the Deccan. There was also Chand Sahib, a man of ambition and ability, still a prisoner at Satara, but always on the lookout for an opportunity to take possession

23 Mill, Vol. III, p. 88; Orme, Vol. I, p. 112.

24 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 125. Karikal was conquered by Chand Sahib and Francisco Pereira, a Spaniard in his service, with the consent of the then French Governor Dumas, to whom they ceded it on 14th February, 1739. Pratab Singh after his accession on the throne of Tanjore also acquiesced in the occupation of the place by the French.

of the theoretically subordinate throne of Arcot. On proceeding to Satara with the object of winning the help of the Marathas, Muzaffar Jang met Chand Sahib, and the two men henceforth determined to act together to realise their respective designs. Chand Sahib opened negotiations with Dupleix, with whom he had maintained a correspondence through his wife ; and Dupleix allured by the prospect of increasing French influence by establishing men so much devoted to the French in the Deccan Viceroyalty and the Carnatic Nawabship agreed to assist them. This was certainly a master-stroke of policy on the part of Dupleix, and the French would have secured great advantages in India if his plans had succeeded.

Chand Sahib was released from Satara through the influence of Dupleix, and his forces combined with those of Muzaffar Jang and supported by the French, firstly, under the command of M. d' Auteuil and then under that of M. de Bussy defeated the recently appointed Carnatic Nawab, Anwar-ud-din (who was killed) at Ambur, south-east of Vellore, on August 3, 1749. A general confusion followed ; Muhammad Ali, the illegitimate son of Anwar-ud-din, took refuge at Trichinopoly, and the rest of the Carnatic came into the possession of Chand Sahib, who rewarded the French by a grant in full right of the territories of Villiyanallur and Bahur, which more than doubled the possessions of the French round Pondicherry. But Admiral Boscawen had in the meanwhile taken possession of St. Thome, which was very near Madras.

Dupleix wanted to be the real master of the Carnatic under Chand Sahib's nominal suzerainty, but his allies vacillated and could not take prompt action. The English were now convinced that it was necessary to prevent the growth of French influence over the native powers by supporting the cause of Muhammad Ali, and from October onwards they began to send him help. Chand Sahib wasted much time and money in an unsuccessful attack on Tanjore without directly attacking Trichinopoly, which was the objective of Dupleix and which would have given the allies a timely advantage over Muhammad Ali. In the meanwhile Nasir Jang marched into

the Carnatic with a vast army[25] joined by a British contingent of 600 under Major Lawrence and compelled Chand Sahib and the French to fall back on Pondicherry after giving up the siege of Tanjore. But Dupleix did not give up the attempt and encouraged his troops (again placed under the command of M. d' Auteuil) to oppose the advance of the enemy. Thus towards the end of March, 1750, the two opposing armies met each other on the banks of the Jinji river near Valudavur. Owing to the desertion of thirteen French officers on April 3, and the signs of disaffection among other French soldiers, M. d' Auteuil could not maintain the fight any longer, and retreated to Pondicherry with Chand Sahib. Muzaffar Jang surrendered himself to his uncle Nasir Jang.

But the French soon renewed their attempts and captured Masulipatam, Tiruviti, Villupuram, and Jinji, which had been hitherto regarded as impregnable. Nasir Jang was surprised by the French army under La Touche on 16th December, 1750, and was soon assassinated. Muzaffar Jang was at once released and recognised as the Subahdar of the Deccan at Pondicherry. The French were rewarded by him with the towns of Divi and Masulipatam and also some pecuniary grants, as for example, the French Company received a sum of £50,000 and the troops also got a similar amount.[26] Dupleix was welcomed by the new Subahdar as the Governor of the country south of the river Krishna up to Cape Comorin (practically the same territory as the previous Vijaynagar Empire) and gifts of £200,000[27] and a jagir including the village Valudavur and worth £10,000 a year.[28] It was ordered that " no money should be current in the Carnatic, but such as was coined at Pondicherry " (which meant the concession of an

25 300,000 men, of whom one-half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon and 1,300 elephants with 10,000 Maratha horse of Murari Rao and 600 cavalry of Muhammad Ali.

26 Thus the payment of fabulous prices to foreigners for Nawabships may be said to have originated in the South and this spread to Bengal presently.

27 Orme, Vol. II, p. 166.

28 Cf. Clive.

important sovereign right), and the revenues of the territories placed under Dupleix's control was to be remitted first to him and he would account for it to the Subahdar.[29] Chand Sahib was recognised as the Nawab of Arcot under the authority of Dupleix. Dupleix's right over the territories granted to him by the Subahdar of the Deccan was not valid as it lacked confirmation by the Mughal Emperor and some writers have pointed out[30] that Dupleix got merely an " honorary suzerainty " and did not " rule thirty millions with almost absolute power." But this is certain that the French secured great advantages by placing their own nominees on the thrones of the Deccan and the Carnatic and Dupleix's influence and prestige in the eyes of the native powers was highly increased.

Dupleix was now disposed to " consolidate his conquests by a definite peace " and proposals for it came from the side of Muhammad Ali, who had, as we have seen, taken refuge at Trichinopoly after Nasir Jang's death. Muhammad Ali expressed his desire to recognise Chand Sahib as the Nawab of the Carnatic if he was allowed to possess treasures left by his father and to enjoy a government in some other part of the Deccan. But it was a mistake on the part of Dupleix to think that the English would patiently allow him to arrange the affairs of the Carnatic according to his own interests. Floyer was succeeded (28th September, 1750) as the Governor of Fort St. David by Mr. Saunders, " a man of action rather than of speech," who realised that if Dupleix was allowed to act without any interference and to bring Trichinopoly under his control then the interests of the English would be greatly prejudiced. So the English decided to send active help to Muhammad Ali, who was encouraged by Mr. Saunders "not to accept the proposals then being made to him from

29 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

30 Prosper Cultru, Dupleix, pp. 257-258; Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 108. It is to be noted here that the English, etc., also administered, ceded and leased territories in Bengal Subah without sanction of the Mughal Emperor, and only through grant of the Subahdar. If that rule was not merely honorary, Dupleix's also could not have been.

Pondicherry, and on his advice that prince conducted himself with such seeming frankness that he deceived Dupleix himself while the English were making ready their men and munitions."[31]

On 15th January, 1751, Muzaffar Jang started towards the Deccan being accompanied by Bussy, the ablest of the French commanders in India at that time. But Muzaffar Jang was Killed in a chance skirmish on 14th February, 1751, at Cuddapah.[32] The death of Muzaffar Jang might have been a fatal blow to the French influence in India but for the prompt action of Bussy. He immediately proclaimed Salabat Jang, the third son of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk as the Subahdar of the Deccan, and the latter besides confirming the concessions which had been granted to the French by his predecessor made some important additions to them. Bussy conducted the new Subahdar to Hyderabad, where by his stay for a few years, he consolidated the new régime of his protégé and maintained the prestige of the French by his remarkable tact and wisdom.

But in the Carnatic affairs took a different course. The year 1751 saw the zenith of Dupleix's influence, and from that year it began to wane. We have already seen how the English had realised the necessity of opposing the designs of Dupleix. In pursuance of his policy and to prevent the capture of Trichinopoly by the French, the English now decided to render effectual help to Muhammad Ali. Then followed a " long, fatiguing and uncommonly momentous war " for the possession of Trichinopoly between the English and the French, the former as the ally of Muhammad Ali and the latter of Chand Sahib. The whole of the Carnatic became the scene of warfare and was subjected to terrible sufferings. The kings of Mysore and Tanjore joined the side of Muhammad Ali and the Marathas tried to " fish in the troubled waters."

Muhammad Ali was closely besieged at Trichinopoly by Chand Sahib's troops. In the spring of 1751 the English found themselves in a desperate situation as a great part of their troops

31 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 128.

32 Orme, pp. 167—169.

were shut up in Trichinopoly, the fall of which place appeared certain. But at this juncture there appeared on the scene a young man endowed with a daring genius and power of original conception, whose new plan and guidance saved the fortunes of the English. He was Robert Clive, who beginning his career as a writer in the civil service of the Company, and subsequently serving as a volunteer when La Bourdonnais captured Madras, had taken part in the defence of Fort St. David and in the Tanjore expedition and he was now to play the rôle of one of the builders of British supremacy and dominion in India. Here he gave the first proof of his genius by pointing out to Governor Saunders the impracticability of the direct relief of Trichinopoly and suggesting the alternative plan of attacking Arcot, Chand Sahib's capital, thus creating a diversion in favour of the besieged. He rightly expected that this blow at the heart of the enemy's country would divide its strength and attention. Thus when he successfully besieged[33] Arcot with a small force of 200 Europeans and 200 Indian sepoys, Chand Sahib sent half of his army under his son Raja Sahib to recover Arcot, though Dupleix tried to nullify and defeat the policy of Clive by urging on the French Commander Law and Chand Sahib the absolute necessity of maintaining strongly the siege of Trichinopoly. After the successful defence of the English before Arcot, Law showed feebleness and timidity, taking advantage of which the English brought into Trichinopoly a large convoy. Law fled to the island of Srirangam, where the English tried to block him up. Dupleix sent reinforcements to relieve M. Law under d' Auteuil, who was, however, compelled to surrender on June 9, 1752, at Valikondapuram and this was followed three days later by the surrender of M. Law with all his troops. Chand Sahib had

33 "The siege which followed, not only presents one of the most glorious pictures of Anglo-Indian history, but it may be considered likewise as the turning-point in the Eastern career of the English. It was at Arkot that English officers taught their Sipahis to follow them with the implicit confidence which superior skill and energy alone can inspire . . . It was at Arkot, in fine, that the Anglo-Indian army received its baptism of victory."—Malleson. p. 297.

taken refuge with the general of the King of Tanjore (an ally of Muhammad Ali and the English) only to meet a lamentable end under that general by assassination, Major Lawrence showing some indifference about his fate.[34]

Thus Dupleix found himself in the midst of difficulties without a strong army and without any ally, and it appeared that all his hopes would be frustrated. But his perseverance and fortitude were great, and he was at his best in the midst of adversity. So his misfortunes could not deter him from continuing the struggle. He succeeded in detaching the Mysoreans and the Marathas from Muhammad Ali's party, and the Raja of Tanjore declared his neutrality. The English, indeed, took Tiru Nuti and Villupuram, but they failed to take Jinji on August 6, and Major Kineer, who was commanding during Major Lawrence's illness, was wounded and defeated at Vikravandi by Dupleix's nephew Kerjean. The English had also lost some places round Madras, and after his recovery Lawrence was defeated at Aryankuppam on 5th September. The French continued the fight but in spite of some isolated successes which they otbained, their fortunes began to wane while their adversaries were gradually gaining ground. "M. Dupleix," wrote the English at Madras in 1753, "has by repeated strokes been reduced very low."[35] His plans were being thwarted and ruined by the defeat of his generals, the discontent of his allies and want of money, and at the end of the year 1753, he opened proposals for coming to terms with the English Governor who also acceded to these. The representatives of Dupleix, M. de Kerjean, M. Bausset, and Father Lavaur met the English Commissaries, Messrs. Palk and Vansittart at Sadras, a Dutch settlement nearly equidistant from Madras and Pondicherry from 21st to 25th January, 1754. The conference proved abortive, because of the conflicting claims of the two parties. The French refused to recognise the claims of Muhammad Ali to the Nawabship of the Carnatic and they

[34] Roberts, p. 111; Orme, Vol. I, pp. 244—246; Lawrence, *Narrative*, p. 28.

[35] Quoted in Roberts, p. 111.

produced several patents from Salabat Jang and the Mughal Emperor himself, appointing Dupleix as the Nawab of the Carnatic. The English replied that Muhammad Ali had been appointed by Nasir Jang and afterwards by Ghazi-ud-din, but the patents were at Trichinopoly, and they declared the patent from the Mughal Emperor in favour of Dupleix ' as a forgery.'

The failure of the conference to bring about a compromise led to the renewal of hostilities. On February 15, the French troops under Mainville inflicted a defeat on the English. They also made some unsuccessful attempts to invest Trichinopoly and carried some fruitless raids into Tanjore and the Pudukottai territory. But Godehu a Director of the Company arrived on August 1 with oders from France to follow a policy of peace.

Dupleix was superseded by Godehu, on 2nd August and Mainville was replaced by Maissin on 16th August. In October Godehu made a truce with the English, which was followed by a provisional treaty in December 1754,[35a] whose validity was subject to the ratification of the two Companies at home. By the first term of the treaty the two Companies agreed to renounce for ever all Mughal dignities and offices and never to interfere in the disputes of the native princes ; the second and third provided that the " English should possess Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Devikota, or that the districts of Pondicherry should be made equal to those of Fort St. George and Fort St. David, the French in that case abandoning the country about Nizamapatnam. The fourth clause abandoned for the French their claims on Machhlipatam (Masulipatam) and the adjoining districts, it being arranged that equal territories should be there assigned to the rival Companies. The fifth, sixth, and seventh clauses regulated the navigation of certain rivers, and the possession of certain other minor territories, on the same principle. The eighth provided for the prolongation of the truce till the confirmation of the treaty should arrive from Europe ; the ninth, for the stoppage of reconstruction of any forts or securing any new grants of territory during the truce ;

35a Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 81.

the tenth, for the principle of *uti possidetis* till the treaty should be confirmed from Europe ; and the eleventh, for some future plan of indemnification for the expenses of the war."[36]

The terms of the treaty have been regarded by Malleson to have been " in a French point of view disgraceful."[37] Dupleix passed some extraordinarily severe remarks upon these. He held that Godehu had " signed the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation,"[38] when the situation was turning in their favour. The French historian Cultru shares almost the same view.[39] Mill writes : " By this treaty, everything for which they had been contending was gained by the English ; every advantage of which they came into possession was given up by the French. By the stipulation to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native prices, Muhammad Ali was left, by the fact, Nawab of the Carnatic or Arcot. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of the two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars was resigned."[40] These statements would have been justified if the treaty had been made before the siege of Arcot, but they seem more or less exaggerated in view of the altered situation in 1754. The Home Government in France did not regard this treaty as ' disgraceful '; it was, on the contrary, anxious for peace in India, as disputes were already beginning between the French and the English on the Ohio and the Mississippi, and " the preservation of that region seemed more reasonable than hypothetical conquests in India."[41] Moreover, the territories guaranteed to the French were to yield an annual revenue of £800,000, those guaranteed to the English £100,000. Facts do not support the statement that the French had greater advantages than the English just on the eve of the conclusion

36 Malleson, p. 441.

37 Malleson, p. 44.

38 Roberts, p. 113.

39 *Ibid.*

40 *History of British India,* Vol. III, p. 140.

41 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 134.

of the treaty. Trichinopoly was about to surrender for want of supplies. Both in numbers and in quality the English troops were superior to those of the French and the financial position of the latter was also worse. It might be pointed out that if Watson came with a fleet, consisting of three ships and a sloop, having on board a King's regiment of 700 men, with 40 artillerymen and 200 recruits, Godehu had also arrived with 1,500 European troops. But the troops of the latter were not very useful for fighting purposes ; the historian Orme remarks that " Mr. Godehu himself was sensible of this disparity."[42] The Pondicherry Council was also aware of this for it wrote to the Directors that " the English had 2,500 men, including 1,150 soldiers of a King's regiment, while the French possessed but 1,150 troops ' God knows what sort of troops '—and were almost without allies and in sore straits for gold."[43] Edward Ives, who came to India with Watson's fleet in 1754, remarks that " Indeed this (the treaty) was by all deemed to have been a masterly stroke of French politics : on the contrary, the advantages resulting from this treaty to the English East India Company, were beyond our comprehension ; for it was by everybody known, that at this time, exclusive of our naval force, our troops on the coast exceeded those of the French in number one thousand."[44] Moreover when Godehu arrived, the treasury of the French in India was almost exhausted. But there is no doubt that Dupleix's ambitions were crushed. And Dupleix was right in emphasising the unwisdom of his country in preferring American acquisitions and opportunities to Indian,—for building a French colonial empire in America by joining Quebec and Louisiana with the Atlantic seaboard full of old English colonies, was clearly a dream, more unrealisable (as was soon shown) than that of Dupleix.

Dupleix is certainly an important figure in Indian history, and nobody can deny the greatness of his ideas and character. He was guided by the daring ambition of establishing a French

42 Vol. I, p. 373.

43 Roberts, p. 114.

44 *A Voyage from England to India, etc.*, p. 46.

Empire in India, and, by his wholehearted efforts, succeeded for some years in improving the position of the French in India, and in enhancing their prestige in the eyes of the native powers to such a considerable extent that his English contemporaries regarded him as a dreadful foe of English interests in India. With a strong faith in the rightness of his cause and an earnest desire to serve his country's interests, Dupleix never allowed himself to be carried away by designs of personal aggrandisement. His convictions were great, his aim was not sordid, and his diplomacy was also not very unsound. But success in military affairs depends largely on the possession of a sound finance and for Dupleix "finance was his stumbling-block from first to last."[45] He was not financially supported by the home authorities, whom he kept ignorant of his defeats and pecuniary troubles. "He had treated them in a very cavalier fashion, informing them of his victories, but concealing his defeats."[46] From 1751 he could not properly collect the revenues he had reckoned on and in order to meet some urgent needs, he spent over £350,000 of his own money and that of his friends. But this spirit was not reciprocated.

Moreover, Dupleix made a mistake in sending away Bussy to the Deccan and thus dividing the strength of the French in two directions. It is true that Bussy maintained the position and influence of the French in the Deccan in a brilliant way till 1758. But if the united forces of the French had worked together in the Carnatic then it would have been greatly difficult for the English to overwhelm the French there. Dupleix "lost everything by wishing to hasten the work of time, and by forgetting the certainty of English resistance in India and of Public disapproval in France, where men did not know or understand his plans and were alarmed at the endless wars into which he was leading them.[47]

45 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 133.

46 Roberts, p. 117.

47 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 140.

With the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756—63) India again became the scene of hostilities between the French and the English. In 1754 the French Government had sent Godehu to reverse the policy of Dupleix, but now it determined to strike a blow for regaining the old position of the French in India by expelling the English. To realise this Count de Lally was appointed to the command of an expedition to India, but he was not able to sail before 2nd May, 1757, and reached India in April, 1758, though half of the force under Chevalier de Soupire had left L'Orient on 30th December, 1756, and anchored off Pondicherry on 9th September, 1757.

Though active hostilities on a large scale began only after the arrival of Lally, yet in the meanwhile both the parties had been far from friendly towards each other. Intelligence of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War had already reached India. De Leyrit, the successor of Godehu, as the Governor of Pondicherry, tried some operations against the English and sent d'Auteuil to take possession of Trichinopoly in April 1757. The " gouty octogenarian " d'Auteuil could not act as De Leyrit had desired ; Trichinopoly was relieved by the arrival from Madura of Major Callioud who had been busy in subjugating the Polygars of Madura and Tinnevelly. But the French troops had overrun the Carnatic ; many of its strongholds, except Arcot, Vellore, Kanchipuram, Chingleput, and the two English seats of Government, had fallen into their hands.[48]

But in Bengal the case was otherwise. There the English attacked the French fort at Chandernagore in March, 1757.[49] After a brave defence for three days (March 20—23) M. Renault, the French Chief at Chandernagore, surrendered with his party, and entered into a capitulation proposed by him and agreed to by the English on the following terms : " (1) The lives of the deserters to be spared. *Answer.* The deserters to surrender absolutely, (2) Officers of the garrison to be prisoners on parole, and allowed to keep their effects. *Answer.*

48 Mill, Vol. III, pp. 197—205; Malleson, pp. 456—460.

49 *Bengal : Past and Present*, July—September, 1931, p. 71.

Agreed to. (3) Soldiers of the garrison to be prisoners of war. *Answer.* Agreed to on condition that foreigners may enter in the English service. (4) Sepoys of the garrison to be set free. *Answer.* Agreed to. (5) Officers and crew of the French Company's troops to be sent to Pondicherry. *Answer.* These persons to be prisoners of war according to articles 2 and 3. (6) The Jesuit Fathers to be allowed to practise their religion and retain their property. *Answer.* No European to be allowed to remain at Chandernagore but the fathers to be allowed to retain their property. (7) All inhabitants to retain their property. *Answer.* This is to be left to the (English) Admiral's sense of equity. (8) The French Factories up-country to be left in the hands of their present chiefs. *Answer.* This is to be settled by the Nawab and the Admiral. (9) The French Company's servants to go where they please. *Answer.* Agreed to.[50] After a temporary sojourn in the Dutch Factory at Chinsura, M. Renault and his party were kept as close prisoners in Calcutta, and the English were so much suspicious of their helping Sirajuddowla that they were not released before the Nawab's defeat at Plassey, when they were asked to prepare for their departure from Bengal.[51]

The capture of Chandernagore dealt the final death-blow to hopes of establishing the French power in Bengal, while it was of immense importance to the future career of the English. They became comparatively free to deal with the Nawab and their immediate gain was also immense for Dupleix had raised Chandernagore to as high a level of prosperity as Calcutta. Clive himself wrote to the Select Committee at Madras, "It was certainly a large, rich and thriving colony, and the loss of it is an inexpressible blow to the French Company."[52]

French factories in other parts of Bengal also were not left untouched by the English. The French Factory at Balasore was seized by Lieutenant Young in the month of April, and M. Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cassimbazar, was

50 Hill, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 53.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

52 Hill's *Bengal in 1756—59*, Vol. II, p. 307.

compelled to leave[53] Bengal in April and arrived at Bhagalpur on May 2, and after Siraj's defeats proceeded up to Patna. But he was driven out of the province by Eyre Coote, who marched to Patna amidst great difficulties.[54] The French Factory at Patna, where its Chief M. de la Bretesche was then lying ill, was seized by Coote. From now till 1761 M. Law remained as an adventurer under some native governments in Northern India. On hearing of the success of the English and the desire of the latter to demand the surrender of all the remaining French factories in Bengal, M. Courtin, the Chief of the French Factory at Dacca, left that place and tried to advance with his men towards the south-west probably with the hope of joining M. Law's party. But after the capture of Sirajuddowla and the enthronement of Mir Jafar on the *masnad* of Bengal, he changed his route towards Dinajpur and Rungpur and even built a fort at a place about fifteen miles south of Jalpaiguri. But his party had to suffer various troubles and had two skirmishes with the forces of Kasim Ali Khan,[55] the Faujdar of Rungpur, who had been asked by Clive to oppose the advance of M. Courtin's party. At last, finding himself helpless he solicited the permission of Robert Clive to return to Pondicherry, which was granted in July 1758. He first came to Chandernagore only to find the French fort in ruins and a few of his countrymen living in despair. From Chandernagore M. Courtin went to Pondicherry, and became a member of

53 The author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* notes that the Nawab was forced by the English to ask M. Law to leave Cassimbazar, and told him at the time of his departure that "if anything new should happen he would send for him again." "Send for me again?" answered Law: "rest assured, My Lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other. Remember my words: we shall never meet again." Really they did not. After his defeat at Plassey and flight from Murshidabad the Nawab wrote to M. Law to come down to his help, but his letters did not reach him in time owing to the treachery of the Faujdar of Rajmahal, and Law's advanceguard reached Rajmahal a few hours after the Nawab had been captured there.

54 Ives' *Voyage*, pp. 156—175.

55 Mir Qasim, future Nawab of Bengal.

the Superior Council there.[56] The French in Bengal were not supported by their countrymen at Pondicherry, while the English, who had realised that "Bengal was the heart of India" received sufficient help from Madras. This is why the former were so soon and so easily overwhelmed by the English in Bengal. More acute hostilities had begun in the South, where Lally, invested with extensive powers as Commander-in-Chief and Commissary of the King for all French possessions in the East, had landed on 28th April, 1758. He had been charged with a double mission—of reforming the French administration in India and of expelling the English out of India. The French squadron was under the command of Count D'Ache.

Lally soon besieged Fort St. David, which surrendered to him on June 2, and the fortifications were immediately razed to the ground. Thus Lally began with a successful enterprise ; but henceforth he was confronted with various difficulties. He was brave ; conscientious and a keen tactician, but he was too wayward to accept others' advice. Moreover, his mission of reforming the French administration at Pondicherry was not taken in a good light by the French officers there, who remained somewhat indifferent to his plans and could not or would not render him timely pecuniary help.

After storming Ft. St. David, Lally wanted promptly to attack Madras, another stronghold of the English in India. But he met with opposition from his naval colleague D'Ache, and the Governor at Pondicherry also declared that his exchequer was in such a poor state that Lally could not expect any financial help from him.

The defection of D'Ache or the indifferent attitude of the officers at Pondicherry did not, however, deter Lally from his ambitious designs. With the advice of Father Lavaur, the local chief of the Jesuits, he attacked Tanjore with a view to realise from its Raja the sum of fifty-six lakhs of rupees for which the latter had given a bond to Chand Sahib and the French in 1749 on condition of their raising the siege. But

[56] Hill, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, Chap. IV.

partly due to his own hastiness and partly due to want of provisions and military stores for his troops[57] Lally's object was baffled. He was compelled to raise the siege of Tanjore on August 10-11 owing to the arrival there of an English detachment and returned to the coast on the 28th August after various hardships and also with some loss of his own reputation for his " harsh and unreasoning severity " in the Tanjore territory. Meanwhile D'Ache had been beaten off Karikal by Admiral Pocock, and he went away to the Isles of France and Bourbon in spite of Lally's protests.

Lally, however, made another attempt to retrieve French fortunes, and now commenced the siege of Madras in December 1758, in spite of De Leyrit's dissent. He called Bussy and Moracin to his help from Hyderabad, where, in spite of some changes of fortune, the former had maintained his position for these years. Bussy obeyed Lally's orders very unwillingly, leaving the Government of Masulipatam and the ceded east coast provinces in the charge of Marquis de Conflans, a man totally ignorant about the language and manners of the country. Clive, in spite of his difficulties in Bengal, was not unmindful of the events in Southern India, and he now thought that " it was his duty to contribute his mite towards the destruction of the French."[58] In pursuance of this policy, he, against the wishes of the whole Council, sent in October, 1758, Colonel Forde at the head of 500 Europeans, 2,000 sepoys, and 18 guns to help Raja Anandraj, the ruler of Vizianagram, who had raised the standard of revolt against French occupation, and had plundered the French Factory at Vizagapatam after Bussy's departure from the Deccan and had written to the English at Madras for help. Forde defeated the French under Conflans at Kondur in December, and captured Masulipatam in the following April. Salabat Jang concluded a treaty with Forde whereby he renounced the French alliance and ceded Masulipatam with a territory of eighty miles long and

57 Malleson, p. 527.

58 Quoted in Roberts, p. 121.

twenty miles wide to the English.[59] Thus the influence of the French at the Court of Hyderabad disappeared for ever.

At the same time, Bussy's presence did not give a satisfactory support and strength to Lally. They could not act with a concerted plan, as they differed fundamentally in policies. "Lally, whose one great idea was the expulsion of the English, could not enter into the plan of a French Empire in the heart of the Deccan, dependent on English weakness and English forbearance."[60] "The King and the Company," he wrote to Bussy on the 13th June, 1758, "have sent me to India to chase the English Company out of it . . . It does not concern me that such and such rajas dispute for such and such a nawabship."[61]

The French had laid siege to Madras in December 1758, but were compelled to raise it in February next for want of troops, money, and provisions and owing to the return of the English fleet under Admiral Pocock from Bombay to Madras on the 16th February.[62] Thus failed the great enterprise against Madras on which Lally had set his heart. This failure was, no doubt, partly due to Lally's "infirmities of temper, to the manner in which he trampled on the cherished feelings of others, but the officers at Pondicherry who rendered him no material assistance and who exulted over his reverses were also greatly responsible for it." After this about a year passed away in sundry engagements between the hostile parties, in the second of which D'Ache, who had returned to the Indian war for the last time, was defeated by Admiral Pocock. D'Ache again retreated to the Isles in October 1759 and Lally had great difficulties with his demoralised troops, who mani-

59 Narrative of Lawrence, p. 213.

60 Malleson, p. 534.

61 Quoted in Roberts, p. 122.

62 "Words" said Lally, "are inadequate to express the effect which the appearance of them produced. The officer who commanded in the trenches deemed it even inexpedient to wait for the landing of the enemy and two hours before receiving orders retired from his port."—Mill, Vol. III, p. 239.

fested a spirit of mutiny. Arcot was lost and Wandiwash (Vandivas) was also occupied by the English. But he held out desperately[63] and thought of recovering Vandivas. In the meanwhile Coote had arrived with a force, which even after a detachment of it had been sent to Bengal came up to 1,700 men. Lally besieged Vandivas, but was repulsed and defeated by Coote on 22nd January, 1760. Bussy, who had come forward to help Lally, was taken prisoner and the French lost many other posts in the Carnatic, being reduced to Pondicherry, Jinji and Karikal. Thus the prospects of the French in India received a fatal blow at this decisive battle of Vandivas. " It shattered to the ground the mighty fabric, which Martin, Dumas, and Dupleix had contributed to erect; it dissipated all the hopes of Lally; it sealed the fate of Pondicherry."[64] Karikal was captured on April 5, and Lally now tried to defend Pondicherry. He sought the help of Hyder Ali, the rising general of Mysore, by promising to make over to him, in case of a favourable issue of the war, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly and all the places that he might conquer in the Carnatic. Hyder sent his brother-in-law with a detachment to Pondicherry; but could not render effective help to Lally. The English then laid siege to Pondicherry, and blockaded it for several months. The condition of the French within the place became extremely miserable for want of money and provisions and they at last surrendered on 16th January, 1761. The town and the fortifications of Pondicherry were levelled to the ground,[65] and " not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city." The fall of Pondicherry was the natural precursor of the capture of other places belonging to

63 " Lally had, from his first arrival been struggling on the borders of despair, with wants which it was altogether out of his power to supply."—Mill, Vol. III, p. 245.—

64 Malleson, p. 368.

65 Mr. Orme remarks that " this was in retaliation of the design of the French Government avowed as the object of the expedition of De La Bourdonnais, the policy of Dupleix, and the armament of Lally, the utter extirpation of the English, and destruction of their settlements in the Peninsula."

the French in India. Thiagur surrendered on February 4, Mahe on February 13, and Jinji on April 5, and the French were left without a single military post in India.

Lally was taken a prisoner to Madras, being insulted at the time of leaving Pondicherry by many of the followers of De Leyrit and by an infuriated mob. He was thence taken to England as a prisoner of war but was released on parole. But when he went to France he was charged with having betrayed the interests of his country, and after a protracted trial for two years, he was most unjustly condemned to death and executed. This was certainly unmerited, for he was neither a coward nor a traitor. Among the French troops in India about 300 took service with Hyder Ali ; 100 were taken into the English army and the rest became prisoners of war. After the conclusion of the Seven Years' War by the treaty of Paris (1763) the possessions of the French in India were restored to them, but their power was too much shattered to be easily recovered.[66]

In spite of the sad fates of Dupleix and Lally the French " pursued their ambitions in India."[67] Many of the Frenchmen in India remained as adventurers and commanders in the different military states, that arose on the ruins of the Mughal Empire,[68] and their minds were filled with designs to restore their power. Rene Madec served for some time a Jat Chief, some time Shah Alam II and some time Begum Somru.[69] Chevalier, the head of the French affairs in Bengal, offered to help the Emperor in 1772 with three thousand Frenchmen from the Isle of France. The French also tried to utilise the hostility of the Marathas and Hyder Ali against the

66 In America as well, the French had been expelled from Canada.

67 *Bengal: Past and Present,* July—September, 1931, p. 25; *'The Memoirs of Gentil'* published with notes by Sir Evan Cotton in Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1927.

68 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 323.

69 Chieftainess of Sardhana (near Meerut), so called as she married the German adventurer Walter Rheinhardt surnamed the Sombre (Somru), who served Mir Kasim and carried out the famous massacre of Patna.

English for their own advantage. In 1777 St. Lubin was negotiating for a treaty with Nana Fadnavis[70] with the object of stirring them up against their rivals (the English) " not only in a vague and uncertain manner, but with a view to obliging them (the English) to divide their forces."[71] The French also regarded an alliance wih Hyder Ali as necessary " for regaining the ascendancy which they have lost in India, and to despoil their rivals of it."[72] The revolt of the English American colonies gave the French the opportunity for furthering those designs. They now supported the revolted colonies in America and at the same time made a desperate attempt at regaining power in India, while the English resources remained divided. They sent 3,000 men under Bussy and a powerful fleet under Admiral Suffren to assist Hyder Ali, but these achieved nothing for French interests. Pondicherry was again invested and captured by a British army, though it was restored by the peace of Versailles (1783). Even after this the Frenchmen in India continued to stir up the Indian enemies of the growing English power at the courts of Mysore, Hyderabad and Poona. During the revolutionary wars in Europe, Tippu was in communication with the French[73] who now tried to attack the English in India by establishing themselves in Egypt and making that their base of operations for Eastern ventures.[74] But Wellesley rightly realised the danger of French designs against the English and he sent an expedition to the Red Sea which destroyed French hopes of establishing themselves on the

70 *Bengal: Past and Present,* July—September, 1931, p. 25.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*

73 Tippu was so much in touch with French affairs that he was a member of the famous Jacobin party: a curious position for a despotic ruler.

74 This was one of the many original plans of Napoleon: " To destroy England we must make ourselves master of Egypt." The French were the first to discover the importance of Egypt to a Western European power that aimed at an Eastern empire (as also the political importance of posing as a patron of Muhammadan people). . . the Suez Canal was projected and completed by them to be utilized by Britain later on.

overland route to India. The French lost their position in India as well as in the Spice Islands. Pondicherry was again captured in 1803 and finally restored in 1814. Thus the ambitions of the French in India had been crushed by 1818, when Lord Hastings was about to establish the unquestioned supremacy of the English in India.

The humiliation and failure of the French was not due to any general inefficiency of their soldiers and statesmen in India as compared with those of the English Company. Sometimes such factors and circumstances govern the destinies of nations, as the best of human endeavours cannot control. The French had certain disadvantages on their side, which the daring plans of Dupleix, or the sincere efforts and bravery of Lally, or the skilful negotiations of St. Lubin could not overcome. Their sea-power was comparatively inferior to that of the English. But success depended greatly on naval superiority, since between the theatre of war and the belligerent countries lay the vast expanse of two oceans. " While the English received supplies of food and money from Bengal, recruits of men from Europe and grain from their northern settlements, the French could receive nothing but what came to them laboriously by land " (from uncertain Indian allies, less numerous than those of the English).

The French were also greatly embarrassed for want of money, while the English possessed a superior finance. In the midst of wars the English did not neglect their ordinary commercial affairs, while the trade of the French Company was in an inferior condition. From 1736 to 1756 the value of goods in France amounted to £11,450,000, while the sales of the English Company during the same period amounted to £41,200,000 (three and a half times greater).[75] The financial success of the English East India Company evoked interest and support of the mother country in its struggles, while this backing was wanting in the case of the French East India Company which could not impress the French state or people with its commercial success or prospects. Proper support

[75] Roberts, p. 124.

from the home government in France was also not forthcoming, as much of its money was spent, in the European complications of the time and also in the luxuries of the Court. We have already seen how Lally was embarrassed, from the moment of his arrival, for want of money to pay his troops and workmen and to obtain provisions. On the other hand the control over Bengal had given the English a great opportunity of improving their financial resources, which they very ably utilised for furthering their interests. In fact Plassey decided the fate of the Carnatic struggles and it was with the resources of Bengal that the English Company fought most of its wars and founded its dominion.[76] In critical moments supplies of men and money from Bengal saved and improved the position of the English in the South. Bussy had, of course, established an influence at the court of Hyderabad and had also secured for the French the Northern Circars, a territory of some strategic importance, and the resources of which might be employed to support the French cause in the Carnatic. But Lally had himself ruined these prospects by unwisely calling Bussy to support him in his own struggles. Bussy's recall from the Deccan was followed by the loss of French influence there, when the tact of Clive and the gallantry of Forde succeeded in establishing English influence. In Bengal also French influence disappeared after the fall of Chandernagore.

It cannot again be ignored that the difference in the characters of the officers and leaders on two sides accounts partly for the difference in their ultimate achievements in India. The French cause was greatly jeopardised by the mutual jealousies of the officers and commanders which made it impossible for them to act in concert upon a single plan. It may be that Lally's " hastiness, his violent temper, his uncontrolled and cutting speech, his habit of threatening without punishing, were all strong obstacles in his way."[77] But there is no doubt that he was sincerely desirous to further

[76] Even in comparatively recent times the administration of some of the other British Indian provinces were financed by Bengal.

[77] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 165.

the interests of his country and gave sufficient proofs of his personal gallantry in pursuance of his aim. But the officers at Pondicherry went so low as to exult over the reverses of Lally, who had also a mission of purifying the government at Pondicherry. "The daring of Lawrence, the dogged pertinacity of Saunders and his Council, the vigour and ability of Calliaud, of Forde, of Joseph Smith, of Dalton and of many others," remarks Mr. Malleson,[78] "stand out in striking contrast to the feebleness, the incapacity, the indecision, of the Laws, the d'Auteuils, the Breniers, the Maissins and others whom Dupleix was forced to employ." Lastly, owing to the fact that the majority of the French East India Company's shares were held by the French Crown, the Company was liable to ill-advised and capricious instructions from the French Courts and Ministers, which deprived the men on the spot in the French settlements in India of the advantage they won by dint of their own policy and endeavours: the recall of Dupleix and his supersession by Godehu is an instance in point.

[78] *French in India*, p. 584.

CHAPTER IV

GROWTH OF AN ENGLISH DOMINION IN BENGAL

SECTION I

FROM PLASSEY TO BUXAR, OR THE FIRST DYARCHY IN BENGAL (1756—1764)

THE virtually independent Kingdom of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, usurped and somehow retained against odds by the adventurer Allahvardi Khan, was lost by his favourite daughter's son Siraj-ud-dowla, who came to the throne in April 1756. Siraj-ud-dowla's first act after accession was to secure his own position against the designs of rival and hostile relatives, like his aunt Ghasiti Begum and his cousin Shaukat Jang, Governor of Purniah. Ghasiti Begum's wealth was confiscated and she was confined to the Nawab's palace. He next proceeded against Shaukat Jang but returned from Rajmahal (May 20) on hearing that the English had not acted according to his orders, and entered very soon into hostilities with them.

It is not a fact that Siraj-ud-dowla was determined from before his accession to expel the English from Bengal, and that he acted from that motive as soon as he came to power. When in 1752 he came to Hugli after being nominated by Allahvardi as his successor, the Presidents of the French, the Dutch and the English Companies paid him a visit, and the English President was "received with the utmost politeness and distinction far superior than was paid the Dutch or French."[1] After the death of Allahvardi, while the French at Chandernagore were expecting a revolution in Bengal and waiting to see which way the wind blew,[2] President Drake wrote a letter of congratulation to Siraj-ud-dowla on his accession and "desired his favour and protection to the English

1 Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government, Vol. I, p. 33.

2 Law, Memoirs.

Company, which was received very kindly " and promises were made to the English *vakil* that " he would show the English greater marks of friendship and esteem than his grandfather had done."[3] But gradually his feelings were estranged by change of circumstances, and it at last culminated in his open rupture with the English. He was not actuated against the English simply by ' vanity and avarice ; ' the real causes of his conflict with them were deeply rooted in other facts of contemporary history. His apparently precipitate action was due to a conviction on his part that the English were trying to strengthen their position in Bengal against his interests as sovereign, and that he must administer a sufficient check before they became too powerful. It was indeed natural that the English would try to guard their interests and to increase their prospects. Thus on the one hand there was a desire for growth and on the other an attempt to oppose it, and thus was born a mutual suspicion which made the conflict inevitable. It was precipitated by the Nawab's hastiness and impatience for quick revenge on the English for certain acts of theirs which he construed as affronts to his sovereignty.

The Nawab's grievances were that the English had given protection to Krishnaballabh, son of Raja Rajballabh of Dacca, against his wishes. Rajballabh, who was Diwan of Ghasiti Begum's estates and her supporter, had fallen into the Nawab's disfavour being suspected of falsifying accounts and secreting the wealth of the Begum ; he had then sent his son with all his hoarded wealth and moveable property to Calcutta. The Nawab naturally demanded the surrender of Krishnaballabh from the English, who, however, refused to place the refugee at the Nawab's disposal. Secondly, when the English and the French began to raise fortifications in Calcutta in view of the impending war between them, the Nawab seriously objected to this violation of his territories, whereupon the French desisted from the work but the English continued to erect new fortifications. Thirdly, the servants and agents of the English Company were making a great abuse of the privileges granted

[3] Hill's Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 290.

to it for its own trade by the Imperial *firman* of 1717. They used the *dustucks* for their own private trade to the great detriment of the native merchants. Such abuse was already half a century old in Bengal, but it was from time to time kept in check to some extent either by protests from the Nawabs or by mutual agreement between them and the Company. But about this time the weakening of the Nawab's authority and growing strength of the English after 1754, led to an increase of the abuses.[4] The Nawab's demands were not exorbitant or unjust, and the refusal of the English to submit to these offended him highly and he proceeded to take very extreme measures. Mr. Hill notes that "Siraj-ud-dowla had a show of reason in all the pretexts he alleged for his attack on the British."[5]

With the beginning of June the Nawab captured the English factory at Kassimbazar and took possession of its guns and ammunition with which he marched towards Calcutta on the 5th with an army of 50,000. From near Chinsura and Chandernagore the Nawab sent letters to the Dutch and the French asking them to help him with their forces in his designs against Calcutta but could not persuade them as they pleaded that they had treaties subsisting between their nations and the English in Europe.[6] The attempts of Mr. Drake, the

4 The Nawab's letter to Caja Wajid, dated 1st June, 1756; Hill, Vol. I, p. 4. Cf. "The injustice to the Moors (Muhammadans) consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom free, we under that pretence protected all the Nawab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our *dustucks* and passes to numbers of natives to trade custom free, to the great prejudice of the Nabob's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom free and by numbers of their impositions, some of which were, ruinous to ourselves. . . . caused eternal clamour and complaints against us at court."—David Rannie, 'Causes of the Loss of Calcutta,' dated August 1756; Hill, Vol. III, p. 384.

5 Bengal in 1756-57, Introduction, iv.

6 Orme, Vol. II, p. 61.

Company's Governor in Calcutta, to secure the help of the Dutch and the French, also similarly failed.[7] On the 16th the Nawab's troops appeared before Calcutta and made an attack on the northern side of the town but were repulsed ; on the 18th the defenders of the fort were driven from their outposts upon which the English women and children were put on board ships in the river, next day. In utter despair, Governor Drake and Mr. Minchin with Captain Grant, Mr. Macket and some other members of the Council joined the women and children on the ships on the next day, and all the fugitives landed at Fulta. The besieged force made a last attempt to save the fort by placing the command in the hands of Mr. Holwell, an ex-surgeon. But with all their efforts they could not hold out for more than two days, and were at length compelled to surrender. It is said that 146 English prisoners were confined by the Nawab's officers in a dark cell in the fort, about eighteen square feet in area, where on a sultry summer night, 123 of them died of suffocation in the midst of horrible sufferings. This is known as the Black Hole Tragedy of 1756.

The sufferings of the English prisoners have been graphically described by Mr. Holwell, who was one of the survivors, in his Narrative,[8] and there is a reference to this incident in some of the contemporary English, Dutch, French and Armenian[9] records, though there is some discrepancy about the numbers of prisoners and victims in these different accounts. But the contemporary native historians and the proceedings of the Calcutta Council mention nothing about it, and recently some scholars[10] have doubted the truth of the accepted version of the Black Hole affair, and have described it as a 'gigantic hoax.' Critics of the latter view are not

7 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

8 Holwell's '*Indian Tracts.*'

9 A few years back Mr. Seth published these Armenian Letters (in English translation) in "*Bengal: Past and Present.*"

10 Mr. J. H. Little, Sj. A. K. Mitra; *Bengal: Past and Present*, July 1915 and January 1916.

wanting,[11] but all impartial writers hold that the Nawab was not personally responsible for the deed, even if it was actually done.

The Nawab now returned to Murshidabad, leaving Manikchand as Governor of Calcutta. The loss of Calcutta reduced the English to a miserable condition. The fugitives at Fulta passed their days amidst great hardships, being occasionally supplied with provisions by the Dutch at Chinsura or by some Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta.[12] But when the news of their disaster reached Madras, the authorities there in consideration of the "great importance of the settlement of Calcutta to the English" decided that "the utmost efforts should be made to recover it."[13] Fortunately they could utilise for this task the services of Admiral Watson, who had two years earlier come to India with a sqadron of the English Royal Navy and those of Colonel Clive, who had already given proofs of his abilities at Arcot (1754). On the 16th October, 1756, the fleet under the command of Admiral Watson and consisting of five of the King's ships (Kent, Cumberland, Tyger, Salisbury, and Bridgwater, together with the Blaze, a Fireship), two ships of the Company (Walpole and Marlborough), and two Indian-built ships (Lapwing and Bonetta), sailed from Madras. Colonel Clive embarked on the Kent and he took with him letters written by Salabat Jang, Nawab of the Deccan, Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, and Mr. Pigot, Governor of the English at Madras, "exhorting Siraj-ud-dowla to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment."[14] The expedition reached the mouth of the

11 Note on the Black Hole, *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 156.

12 Raja Navakrishna was one of these. The Hindu Zamindars and businessmen were at this time very well disposed towards the English Company, for both political and economic reasons. *Vide* K. K. Dutta, Relations Between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century, *Journal of Indian History,* 1929.

13 Hill, Vol. I, p. 195.

14 Orme, Vol. II, p. 89.

Hugli after an unfavourable voyage and relieved the fugitives at Fulta in December. Watson and Clive recovered Calcutta on the 2nd January, 1757. There were found in the fort "many guns of different sizes, round and grape shots, shells, grenades, a small quantity of powder (and some military stores), but no small arms ; in the godowns were several bales of the Company's broad-cloth and about 650 bales of goods for the Europe market ; and in the town about 1,400 bales of cotton, a small quantity of toothenague and some China ware." For the private property found there, a notice was issued, so that the respective owners might take their own effects from the Company's sub-accountant by giving a receipt in return. The Council in Calcutta then took the bold step of writing to the neighbouring Zamindars to pay to them the rents and revenues of their respective districts "on pain of having their country destroyed in case of refusal." Some of them sent heir representatives to the Council, promising to obey the Company's orders, and the Council hoped thereby to meet the expenses of the intended operations against the Nawab.[15] The English then decided to wage war against the Nawab, and plundered Hugli and its environments within a few days.

The recovery of Calcutta did not mean the cessation of hostilities between the Nawab and the English. It was merely the prelude to the great drama that was soon to be acted on the political stage of Bengal. The English could not rest satisfied till they had provided sufficient guarantees for future safety, particularly as their plunder of Hugli had inflamed the Nawab's rage, and he had left his capital once again to punish them. With a view to prevent a second sack of Calcutta by the Nawab, the English ad pted various defensive measures. "Followed by a numerous army, furnished with everything necessary for war,"[16] the Nawab crossed the river Hugli on the 30th January, but after an indecisive engagement with the English towards the beginning of the next month, concluded

15 Hill, Vol. II, pp. 166—172.

16 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 221.

a defensive and offensive alliance with the English on the 9th February, 1757, to the following effect: (1) " All privileges granted by the Emperor of Delhi to the British to be confirmed; (2) All goods under the British *dustucks* to pass free throughout Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; (3) The Company's Factories and all goods and effects belonging to the Company, its servants or tenants, which had been taken by the Nawab, to be restored, and a sum of money to be paid for what had been plundered or pillaged by the Nawab's people; (4) Calcutta to be fortified as the British thought proper; (5) The British to have the right to coin *siccas.*"[17] The terms of the treaty were thus very favourable to the interest of the English and materially enhanced their power and prestige in Bengal.

It is indeed surprising that the English and the Nawab, who were so bitterly incensed against each other, should thus settle down to peaceful terms. There were some inner motives of self-interest, which led them to seek a cessation of hostilities at this time. Already when Clive was busy in the capture of Hugli, the news of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War had reached India, and Clive rightly thought that it would not be possible for the English to maintain themselves against a combination of the French and the Nawab. " The delay of a day or two," as he himself says, " might have ruined the Company's affairs by the junction of the French with the Nawab." The French in Bengal had a force of 800 Europeans and a train of field artillery; Bussy was in the Northern Circars within 300 miles of Calcutta, and if the Nawab were able to combine with them then, he would become an irresistible enemy of the English. Clive was also conscious of his own strained relations with Admiral Watson and the Calcutta Council. As a King's afficer Watson sometimes looked down upon the civil and commercial affairs, and the Calcutta Council brooded over their " grievance against the Madras authorities for investing Clive with independent powers. They not only wrote to Madras and to England

17 Hill, Vol. I, Introduction, cxlviii; Stewart's *History of Bengal*, Appendix XII.

complaining of the indignity thrust upon them but they chose the critical moment, when the Nawab was marching upon Calcutta, to harass Clive himself, and on the 18th of January demanded that he should place himself under the orders of the Council of Fort William, both as to the plan of military operations and the conduct of negotiations."[18] Similarly, difficulties within and danger outside his Subah inclined the Nawab also to conclude the treaty. Many of his followers were unwilling to continue the fight any longer. His father-in-law, Muhammad Irez Khan, the principal officers of his Court, and the chief commanders of his army,—all were in favour of peace. Moreover, just at that time the renewed invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and his victory over the Imperial forces[19] made him also apprehensive of the Abdali's advance towards Bengal with the help of the Rohillas and the Oudh Nawab.[20] Thus it is clear that the treaty was not the result of any desire on the part of either to promote mutual goodwill. It lacked sincerety, without which all treaties are but 'scraps of paper,' and so the renewal of hostilities was only a question of time. The western invasion expected by Siraj did not materialise, but this much is certain that the treaty gave the English the opportunity they needed to capture the French fort at Chandernagore (March 23, 1757) and thus to crush the ambitions of their European enemy in Bengal,[21] and at the same time to deprive Siraj of a good support in case of hostilities. Siraj thus lost in the diplomatic contest with Clive.

Political intrigues are sometimes more effective than open fight. On the eve of Plassey Bengal became the scene of bitter political intrigues and conspiracies fomented by general and personal grievances against the Nawab, and it was natural that

18 Hill, Vol. I, Introduction cl.

19 *Vide* ante; *Later Mughals and Foreign Invasions.*

20 Seir, Vol. II, p. 223; Scrafton, Reflections of the Government of Indostan, p. 66. Similarly, earlier in the time of Allahvardi, the Afghan rebellions of Bihar were encouraged by the contemporary Afghan invasions and success.

21 *Vide* ante, the chapter on Anglo-French Relations in India.

the English Company, at this stage of their affairs, should utilise these for their own advantage. There was a strong party in the country engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the Nawab and the English, who knew it for certain that the Nawab would strike against them at any favourable opportunity,[22] lent their assistance in the execution of the designs of these conspirators.[23] Some of the Hindu Zamindars (like Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nuddea) and bankers (Seths) played[24] the leading part in the conspiracy of 1757, and they were joined by some disaffected relatives or officers of the Nawab like Mir Jafar, Yar Latif Khan and Rai-Durlabh. "There was a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of Mahometan power," and the Hindu landed and mercantile communities sought to utilise this opportunity to redress their long-felt grievances, as they had once before done at the time of Allahvardi's usurpation, when they invited the first Maratha invasion of Bengal, with disastrous results and complete disillusionment. Colonel Scott wrote to one of his friends in 1754 that the "Jentue (Hindu) Rajahs and inhabitants were much disaffected to the Moor (Muhammadan) government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyrannical yoke."[25] The Afghans of the Subah also, in pursuance of a traditional rebellious attitude, did not materially back up Siraj's government. When such was the state of feeling in the country, "discord spread itself

22 Letter from the Select Committee in Bengal to the Secret Committee, London, dated 14th July, 1757.

23 "The cause of the English had become that of the Seths. Their interests the same. Can anyone be surprised to find them acting in concert?"—Memoirs of M. Jean Law: Hill, Vol. III, p. 186.

24 *Calcutta Review*, 1872, pp. 107—110; Rajib-lochan's *Krishnachandra-charit*, pp. 73—75.

25 Hill, Vol. III, p. 328. So also M. Law wrote in his Memoirs that the French were expecting a revolution in Bengal on the death of old Allahvardi.

through the Subah's (Nawab's) Court, where the only oracle that everyman consulted was his own interest."[26]

On the 20th April, 1757, Mr. Scrafton (who had been by Clive's orders stopped at Kassimbazar on April 10, on his way back from Dacca) wrote to Clive that the Seths had proposed through Omichand[27] to set up their protégé Yar Latif Khan as Nawab. Very soon Mr. Watts, the Company's Resident at Murshidabad, informed the Select Committee in Calcutta of the conspirators' desire to combine with the English in overthrowing the Nawab and setting up Mir Jafar ; the Select Committee agreed to join on the following conditions :

(1) " Mir Jafar to confirm the grants and privileges allowed by Siraj-ud-dowla ; (2) Mir Jafar to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the British ; (3) all Frenchmen in Bengal with their Factories and Goods to be delivered up to the British,—the French never to be permitted to resettle in the Provinces ; (4) the Company to receive 100 lakhs for the loss sustained by the destruction of Calcutta and for the expenses of the war ; (5) the European inhabitants of Calcutta to receive 50 lakhs of rupees for their losses at the capture of that town ; (6) the Hindus to receive 20 lakhs on the same account ; (7) the Armenians 7 lakhs ; (8) the Company to be put in possession of all the land within the Calcutta ditch and 600 yards all round ; (9) the Company to receive the Zamindari of the country south of Calcutta between the River and the Salt

26 An Apologia for Conspiracy, " *Bengal : Past and Present,*" July—September, 1928, pp. 8—10.

27 Omichand (or Amir Chand) a Punjabi by birth and a Sikh by religion, was a great merchant of Calcutta. He had secured the favour of Allahvardi by " judicious presents of rare or curious objects " (Hill, Vol. II, p. 63). " The extent of his habitation, divided into various departments; the number of his servants continually employed in various occupations, and a retinue of armed men in constant pay, resembled more the state of a prince than the condition of a merchant. His commerce extended to all parts of Bengal and Bihar, and by presents and services he had acquired so much influence with the principal officers of the government of Muxadabad (Murshidabad) that the Presidency in times of difficulty used to employ his mediation with the Nawab." (Orme, Vol. II, p. 50.)

Lakes as far as Culpee ; (10) the Nawab to pay the extra-ordinary expenses of the British troops when required by him for his own defence ; (11) the (Nawab's) Government not to erect fortifications on the river below Hugli ; (12) the articles to be complied with within thirty days of Mir Jafar's being acknowledged Nawab ; (13) the Company to assist Mir Jafar against all enemies as long as he complies with the treaty."[28]

After some troubles and personal risks to Mr. Watts, the treaty was sworn to by Mir Jafar. We have it on the authority of Mr. Becher (a member of the Committee) that, by a private arrangement, the members of the Council received large presents.[29] Omichand, who threatened to divulge the plot to the Nawab unless he received about 30 lakhs, was duped by Clive by the " expedient of a double treaty." One draft of the treaty, which was written on a piece of white paper and was regarded as valid, did not contain anything about Omichand's demands, while the false one, written on a piece of red paper, contained Omichand's demands. Clive and the Secret Committee signed the fictitious treaty. Admiral Watson refused to put his signature there, but Clive got it counterfeited by Mr. Lushington and added it to the false treaty. Clive later on defended this episode in strong terms, declaring that he " never made any secret of it ; he thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again, a hundred times."[30] A few modern writers have also produced a ' laboured apology ;' but it is hard to defend it from any point of view whatsoever ; this trick " has done more harm to his reputation than any other charge that has been brought against him."[31]

The Nawab was now charged by Clive with violating the terms of the treaty of February 1757, and before he sent any reply Clive marched towards Plassey. He arrived there in the

28 Hill, Vol. II, pp. 383—385 ; Stewart's *History of Bengal,* Appendix No. 13.

29 Mill, Vol. III, p. 187.

30 Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India,* Vol. I, p. 256, note.

31 Wheeler, *Early Records of British India,* p. 260.

midnight of 22nd June, and on the next was fought between his forces and the Nawab's one of the decisive battles of India in the mango-groves of Plassey (Palāśī). After a desperate fight, the Nawab found himself betrayed and in a helpless situation, and left the battlefield in the last quarter of the night. But at Murshidabad also he found treason and conspiracy working against him (even his father-in-law Iraj Khan refused to help him), and on hearing of Mir Jafar's and Clive's advance towards the city, he left it at 3 o'clock in the night of 24th June for Rajmahal hoping to join the small party of the French under M. Law and to obtain the help of Raja Ramnarayan of Bihar. He took with him his *Begum* Lutf-un-nisa and a few companions and some jewels. But a tragic turn of fortune brought him, near Rajmahal, to the notice of Mir Jafar's brother, who seized his person and sent him to Murshidabad. He was not allowed to remain a prisoner for a long time. Mir Jafar's son Miran was bent on doing away with his life, and in one dark night he was most brutally murdered by a wretch named Muhammadi Beg. It is not definitely known whether Clive was in any wa responsible for the deed or not.

Mir Jafar had already entered Murshidabad on the 24th June, where Clive also proceeded five days later and invested him with the Nawabship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Siraj-ud-dowla's treasury did not, however, contain 40 million sterling as was popularly believed, and so Mir Jafar could not pay off at once the full amount of the promised sums to the English. It was therefore stipulated that one-half of the amount should be paid by the last day of October, the "remainder to be paid within the compass of three years by equal payments every six months."[32] Omichand was informed of the fictitious treaty and was not given a farthing. Mr. Orme mentions that at first Rs. 7,271,666 were received by the Company and sent to Calcutta in 700 chests. Again on the 9th of August Rs. 1,655,358, and on the 30th August, gold, jewels and cash amounting to Rs. 1,599,737, were delivered to them by

[32] Scrafton's *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 96-97.

Durlabhram.[33] The members of the Council in Calcutta also received the following shares:[34]

	Rs.
Governor Drake	280,000
Colonel Clive:	
(a) as a member	280,000
(b) as a commander	200,000
(c) as a donation	1,600,000
Mr. Watts:	
(a) as a member	240,000
(b) as a donation	800,000
Major Kilpatrik:	
(a) as an officer	240,000
(b) as a donation	300,000
Mr. Maningham	240,000
Mr. Becher	240,000
Six Members of Council	100,000 each
Mr. Walsh	500,000
Mr. Scrafton	200,000
Mr. Lushington	50,000
Captain Grant	100,000

An E.I.C. mint was established at Calcutta, and the first E.I.C. rupees were coined there on the 19th of August, 1757.[35] The English now sent out their agents to re-establish the subordinate factories in the interior. The Nawab passed orders for the freedom of the Company's trade throughout the Subah. The Company also received the Zamindary of the 24-Parganas, against the opposition of the tenants and renters "who were averse to the introduction of new masters, who being merchants might wish to appopriate"[36] the salt trade of those places to themselves.

33 *Indostan*, Vol. II p. 188.

34 Third Report, p. 120.

35 There were earlier E.I.C. mints at Madras and Bombay; *vide* ante.

36 Orme, Vol. II, p. 188.

Thus the Company secured good many advantages as a result of its victory at Plassey. A contemporary memoir defines exactly what the events of 1757 meant to the English: "Many of those who would have totally lost the Fruits of long Labour and various Hardships, and who must have been beggars if subject to any other power, are again easy in their fortunes, and some of them have already transported their Effects to their Native Country; the proper return for the assistance they derived from her Maternal affection; and as these Events have distinguished the present age and present administration, so their effects will probably be felt in succeeding Times. The Company, by an accession of territory, has an opportunity of making an ample settlement; which under proper management, may not only be extremely serviceable to her, but also to the Nation; and having a revenue from these lands, the mint at Calcutta, and the lease of saltpetre at Patna, which amounts on the whole to one hundred thousand pounds a year, there is a Provision against future dangers upon the spot, and without further expense."[37] Besides these immediate gains, the moral effect of the victory was very great. The humiliation of the Subahdar of the province by a foreign trading company immensely increased the power and prestige of the latter. Plassey clearly demonstrated to them the utterly corrupted state of political life in Bengal and the growing discontent of the Hindu zamindars and merchants against the decaying government of Muslim adventures, by taking advantage of which the English embarked upon a new era of commercial prosperity and territorial advancement. But though the year 1757 marks a turning-point in the history of Bengal, we must not exaggerate the importance of Plassey by concluding that the English thereby became a dominant influence in India. The British Empire of India was not a foregone conclusion in 1757; the half century following it was as critical as the half century preceding; and it was about a quarter of a century after Plassey that the English East India

[37] *Bengal, Past and Present,* July—September, 1928, pp. 6—10; Hill, Vol. III, p. 395.

Company took a prominent place in Indian affairs as a permanent Indian power.

The new Nawab Mir Jafar was a mere figurehead in the state, while the real power passed into the hands of Clive. Mir Jafar was too weak and incompetent a man to conduct satisfactorily the machinery of the state at such a critical time in the face of a number of conflicting forces. In fact, the Nawab began to realise his difficulties soon after his accession. With scanty and precarious resources it became impossible for him to satisfy all the conspirators, who, finding their self-interests not duly served, vexed him from time to time. Moreover, his own folly in trying to crush Hindu officers like Durlabh-ram, to whom he was greatly indebted for his elevation, and Ram-Ram Singh, faujdar of Midnapore, gave birth to an opposition against his government in different parts of the Subah (Patna, Purniah, Midnapore, Dacca).[38] These were somehow suppressed with the help of the English, and Durlabh-ram and Raja Ramnarayan, Governor of Bihar, were pacified through the efforts of Clive. In return for this help Clive extorted from Mir Jafar the monopoly of the saltpetre trade in Bihar for the English.[39]

Besides these internal revolts, external dangers threatened Mir Jafar's government. The distracted state of Bengal attracted the attention of Ala Gauhar, Shah Alam II (the eldest son of Alamgir II), who was then living as an exile in the territory of the Rohillas, to save himself from the intrigues of the wicked Wazir Ghazi-ud-din. Instigated and helped by Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh, Muhammad Quli Khan, Subahdar of Allahabad, Raja Balwant Singh of Benares, Sunder Singh of Tikari, and Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur, Shah Alam appeared on the borders of Bihar in the early part of 1759. But before Shah Alam could achieve anything, most of his insincere allies, with the exception of Pahalwan Singh, began to desert him ; Shuja-ud-dowla, who had pretended to help

38 Wheeler, *Early Records of British India*, p. 263.

39 Mill, Vol. III, p. 274; Orme, Vol. II, p. 282; Scrafton's Indostan, pp. 104—114.

Shah Alam, had, during Muhammad Quli Khan's absence, taken possession of Allahabad, which compelled the latter to return to his capital. So Shah Alam's project fizzled out, and his weak attack was easily repulsed by the speedy arrival of a body of the Nawab's troops under his son Miran, backed up by the march of Clive from Calcutta. In return for this support, Clive received " the whole of the revenue or rent which the Company in quality of Zemindar were bound to pay for the territory which they held round Calcutta."

Incompetent and worthless as he was, Mir Jafar was growing restive under Clive's domination, when the Dutch led an expedition into Bengal in the year 1759. Most writers on this point hold that the Nawab, anxious to get rid of Clive's control, secretly encouraged the Dutch. Mr. Wheeler asserts that " the complicity of Mir Jafar in the Dutch expedition was beyond all doubt."[40] Holwell writes that the Dutch entered into negotiation with Mir Jafar for " transporting troops from Batavia into those provinces, that with their united force a stop might be put to the power of the English."[41] On the outbreak of hostilities between the Dutch and the English, Mir Jafar, however, took the side of the latter. More than by Mir Jafar's encouragement, the Dutch were prompted by considerations of safeguarding their own commercial interests in Bengal, which were threatened by the new political power of their old commercial rival, the English. They had watched with anxiety the incidents of the ' Anglo-Moorish ' duel in Bengal, and had, except in a few instances, maintained strict neutrality. But the results of Plassey, which made the English the power behind the throne, and gave them further advantages in the field of Bengal commerce (especially their securing the monopoly of the saltpetre trade wherein they had chiefly been engaged so long), made them extremely jealous of the English, and they resolved to strike a blow against the new English

40 *Early Records, etc.*, p. 266.

41 Memorial delivered by Holwell to the Select Committee upon the arrival of Vansittart to succeed him in the Government,—*Original Papers Relating to the Disturbances in Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 8—13.

ascendancy in Bengal. " The Dutch were in fact in the same position in Bengal now, as the English would have been in, in South India, had Saunders done nothing to counteract the schemes of Dupleix. Bisdom and Vernet, the Dutch leaders, have therefore the same justification for attempting to overthrow the English supremacy as Saunders and Clive have for contesting that of the French in the South." In 1759 six or seven Dutch vessels with 300 Europeans and 600 Malayan troops appeared in the Ganges, and the English also made necessary preparations to meet them. The two forces met in an engagement on the plains of Bedara, midway between Chandernagore and Chinsura. The Dutch were defeated and entered into a treaty with the English. They " disavowed the proceeding of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, and agreed to pay costs and damages."[42] A few days after the battle of Bedara, Miran appeared near Chinsura but the Dutch were protected by the intervention of Clive from the wrath (?) of Miran, who at last " received their deputies ; and after severe altercation, forgave them and promised ample protection in their trade and privileges on the following terms : that they shall never meditate war, introduce or enlist troops, or raise fortifications in the country ; that they shall be allowed to keep up one hundred and twenty-five European soldiers, and no more, for the service of their factories of Chinsura, Kassimbazar and Patna ; that they shall forthwith send their ships and remaining t roops out of the country ; and that a breach of any one of these articles shall be punished with utter expulsion."[43] Thus the defeat at Bedara dealt a crushing blow to the ambitions of the Dutch, and henceforth their existence in Bengal became dependent on the goodwill of the English. The battle of Bedara is another step in advance from Plassey in the growth of the British power in Bengal,—an earlier step being the repulse of the first invasion of Emperor Shah Alam,

42 Clive's *Narrative;* Malcolm, *Life of Clive,* Vol. II.

43 *Ibid.* This severity is obviously due to pressure of the English Company.

who afterwards made a second attempt to conquer Bengal but returned unsuccessful.

Clive embarked for England on the 25th February, 1760, after delivering over the charge of affairs in Bengal to Mr. Holwell. Clive had indeed done much to strengthen the position of the English in Bengal, and further successfully avoided the various dangers that arose from time to time to threaten their position. But at the same time it should be noted that the British authority had not been firmly established even by 1760. In fact the " general position was still uncertain. The English had no moral position in the province." And we shall see that their authority did not remain unchallenged. Moreover, Clive had himself set some harmful precedents which reacted on the usefulness of his work. By accepting private presents from the Nawab he not only set a bad example for his fellow-officers but at the same time impoverished the Nawab's exchequer and was thus partly responsible for the misgovernment of Bengal after 1757. The argument of defence that there was no regulation of the Company forbidding the acceptance of private presents,[44] and that such presents as were not extorted from a prince but were willingly given by him were not dishonourable, does not stand the test of criticism based on facts connected with the East India Company's transactions with Mir Jafar. The Nawab was not at all a free agent ; he was placed in such a situation that he could not but conciliate Clive. The sums which Clive received were thus no voluntary gifts or presents of the Nawab ; but " they were moneys bargained for the sale of a province under a transaction stained with falsehood and treachery throughout."[45] His anxiety to secure a Jagir, after Mir Jafar had procured for him from the shadow Emperor the title of Omrah, is a clear proof of his desire to make a personal fortune. But he was too keen-sighted not to have realized that there would be no want of men after him to exploit the disturbed condition of the country,

44 Ramsay Muir, *Making of British India*, p. 60.

45 Elphinstone, *Rise of the British Power in the East*, edited by Sir E. Colebrooke, p. 315.

or that it was not sound policy to saddle Mir Jafar with a financial burden when the expected amount could not be found in Siraj-ud-dowla's treasury.

After Clive's departure, the helplessness of Mir Jafar's position became clear to him. His treasury was exhausted, the troops were mutinous for arrears of pay, and the Company had not received the instalments as arranged by the treaty of 1757. The Company began to press him very heavily for money, especially because it had not received any financial assistance from its authorities in England, who believed that it had acquired a vast wealth in Bengal. "It is a most amazing thing to consider," wrote the Court of Directors in March 1758, "that a settlement so abounding with industrious inhabitants, and flourishing in its trade should produce so little profit to the Company. This cannot be easily accounted for other ways than from the luxurious, expensive, and idle manner of life among all ranks of our servants."[46] But if the Company did not receive the stipulated amount from Mir Jafar, its servants and agents made use of the opportunity afforded by the weak rule of the Nawab and the increased power of the English to exploit the internal trade of the country for their own advantage, by making a wholesale abuse of the *dustucks* to the great prejudice of the interests of the country merchants. Thus when the Nawab had emptied his treasury by offering repeated presents to the members of the Council in Calcutta, the country was deprived of its resources owing to the unfair and aggressive behaviour of the servants of the Company. Besides the invasions of Shah Alam from the North-West, the Marathas also continued their incursions from the South-West, and to defend Bengal Mir Jafar had to seek English help "But every such intervention made the control of the Company over Bengal more unmistakable and the restraining of its servants more difficult, while the burden of maintaining these troops formed a heavy drain upon the

[46] Roberts, p. 150.

Company's resources, and Mir Jafar, whose treasury was exhausted, could not defray these charges."[47]

Thus owing to the want of a strong authority at the centre and the growing rapacity of the Company's servants and agents, Bengal had " fallen into a state of utter anarchy and misery." The Council in Calcutta held Mir Jafar responsible for all these, and at the instigation of Mr. Holwell arranged for another change in the Nawabship of Bengal. It should be noted that Clive had already thought of removing Mir Jafar and even of the Company's assuming sovereignty, in his letter to the Prime Minister Pitt, dated 7th January, 1759: " The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still, it is true, retains his attachment to us, and probably while he has no other support, will continue to do so ; but Mussalmans are so little influenced by gratitude,[48] that should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint ; and this is very evident from his having lately removed his Prime Minister (Durlabhram), and cut off two or three principal officers, all attached to our interest, and who had a share in his elevation.[49] Moreover he is advanced in years ; and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English that it will be utmost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other ; and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves."[50] Holwell levelled various charges against Mir Jafar, some of which he certainly merited, but some were concocted by

47 Ramsay Muir, p. 37.

48 It cannot be gainsaid that the seventeenth and eighteenth century history of India is characterised by instances of ingratitude.

49 In fact the revolution bringing in the English power was brought about by Hindu nobles mainly.

50 Malcolm, Vol. II, pp. 126—128. This letter also contained among other suggestions one that " the new power obtained by the East India Company in Bengal was destined ultimately to lead to the establishment of direct British rule." Pitt did not agree with the idea at that time.

Holwell to justify his own conduct in connection with the revolution of 1760.[51] Mir Casim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar, who had been sent to Calcutta on a state business, entered into a conspiracy with Vansittart, the new Governor of the Company, and Mr. Holwell ; and the Select Committee in Calcutta entered into a treaty with Mir Casim on the 27th September, 1760, of which the following were the most important terms: (a) For all charges of the Company and of the said Army, and provisions for the field, etc., the lands of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong shall be assigned, and Sanads for that purpose will be written and granted. The Company is to stand to all losses and receive all the profits of these three countries, and we will demand no more than the three assignments aforesaid ; (b) We will not allow the tenants of the Sarkar to settle in the lands of the English Company, neither shall the tenants of the Company be allowed to settle in the lands of the Sarkar ; (c) We will give no protection to the dependents of the Sarkar in the lands, or in the factories of the Company, neither shall any protection be given to the dependents of the Company in the lands of the Sarkar: and whosoever shall fly to either party for refuge shall be delivered up."[52] Mir Casim then returned to Murshidabad, where Caillaud and Vansittart also proceeded on 14th October to give effect to the treaty. Finding all resistance to the English fruitless, Mir Jafar relinquished the throne in favour of Mir Casim and proceeded to Calcutta, where he began to live as a pensioner of Mir Casim. Thus was Mir Jafar deposed " in breach of a treaty founded on the most solemn oaths."[53] Many members of the

51 " In justice to the memory of the late Nabob Meer Jaffier, we think it incumbent on us to acquaint you that the horrible massacres wherewith he is charged by Howell, in his Address to the Proprietors of the East India stock (p. 46) are cruel aspersions on the character of that Prince. which have not the least foundation in truth. The several persons there affirmed, and who were generally thought, to have been murdered by his orders, are all now living, except two, who were put to death by Meeran, without the Nabob's consent or knowledge."—Letter to Court, 30th September, 1766; Supplement, Long, No. 837.

52 Ramsay Muir, p. 67.

53 Letter from some gentlemen of Calcutta Council,—First Report.

Council strongly protested against the resolution " to dethrone a man we were bound to support by the most solemn ties," and remarked that it would put an " indelible stain upon our national character."[54] Mir Jafar was rightly paid back in his own coin, but the conduct of the Calcutta Council was also not above criticism. Self-interest was the key to this welter of bargains, and when Holwell and Vansittart saw that Mir Jafar's administration was not satisfactorily advancing the interests of the Company, it was but natural that they would drag him down to set up another in the hope of improving the position of the Company. The fact that the members of the Council received presents in money as the price of Mir Casim's Nawabship " casts a sordid air over the whole business."[55]

Mir Casim possessed a strong character and he had given some proofs of his administrative ability as the *faujdar* of Pungpur and Purniah before he became the Nawab of Bengal. He realised the necessity of having an efficient military organisation and a well-filled treasury, the two essential requisites for a strong executive, especially in those troublous days. To strengthen his power, he suppressed the refractory Zamindars of Bengal and Bihar, who had on several occasions defied the authority of the old Nawab.[56] To improve the condition of the exchequer, he compelled the old officers to disgorge the sums they had misappropriated, and levied some *abwabs* or additional cesses. It is stated[67] that in 1760 he laid an " additional tax of 1½ annas or 3/32 part of the original crown rents ; and estimated this addition at Sicca rupees 4,50,164-2-9,

54 Roberts, p. 151.

55 *Cambridge History*, p. 168.

Mr. Vansittart received Rs. 500,000. Mr. Holwell Rs. 270,000; Mr. McGuire Rs. 180,000 and 5,000 gold mohurs; Mr. Summer, Rs. 240,000; Mr. Smith, Rs. 134,000; Major Yorke, 134,000; Colonel Caillaud, Rs. 200,000.—(Mill, Vol. III, pp. 368-369.)

56 Seir, Vol. II, pp. 423—431; *Muzaffarnamah*, pp. 163a-163b; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, pp. 104a-105a (Khudabaksh Library, Patna).

57 Firminger's *Introduction to the Fifth Report*, p. cxv.

which being added to the former revenue of 1,32,82,960-2-17-1 made the whole of these revenues in his time amount to 1,37,33,124-5-6-1 or £1,792,172 sterling." He also took possession of all such local collections as *Khajiri-jama,* which had been hitherto concealed from state audit, " for the benefit of the provincial treasury, and the increment so obtained for the Nawab was spoken of as *Kifayat* (corruptly Keffyet) or profit."[58] He tried to organise the military department after the European fashion, and arranged for the manufacture of firelocks and guns at Monghyr, where he had shifted his capital.[59] Vansittart has given the following estimate of his administration: " He discharged the Company's debt and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expenses of his court, which had consumed the income of his predecessors, and secured his own authority over the country by reducing the power of the Zemindars, who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province."[60] We have it on the authority of Ghulam Husain that " in unravelling the intricacies of affairs of government and especially the knotty mysteries of finance, in examining and determining private differences ; in establishing regular payment for his troops and for his household ; in honouring and rewarding men of merit and men of learning, in conducting his expenditure exactly between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality ; and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely and where with moderation,—in all these qualifications, he was an incomparable man indeed and the most extraordinary prince of his age."[61] Mir Casim

58 *Ibid.,* p. xl.

Kifayat-i-sair : " the profit derived by bringing to account concealed exactions in customs duties, etc."

Kifayat-i-Faujdari : " increased assessment on the frontier lands held by the military governors, levied by them, at first for their own benefit, but brought to the credit of the government by Kasim Ali Khan." (Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue Terms.*)

59 Seir, Vol. II, p. 421; *Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal,* pp. 9-10. (Imperial Library, Calcutta.)

60 Vansittart's *Narrative,* Vol. III, p. 381.

61 Seir, Vol. II, p. 437.

was indeed the most efficient of all the Bengal Nawabs from 1756 downwards.

But he was not given a fair chance. His attempt to remove the grievances in the field of internal commerce of Bengal, and to check the oppressions of the Company's servants and agents, made his Nawabship irreconcilable with the interests of these people. We have seen that the Imperial Firman of 1717 had granted the privilege of free sea-borne trade to the corporate body of the Company ; but taking advantage of the disturbed political condition of the time, the Company's servants had extended this privilege for their own private trade of all kinds to the great detriment of the interests of the country merchants and manufacturers. In fact, by this time, " a trade was carried on without payment of duties, in the prosecution of which infinite oppressions were committed. English agents and Gomasthas, not contented with injuring the people, trampled on the authority of government, binding and punishing the Nawab's officers wherever they presumed to interfere."[62] All attempts of Mir Kasim, Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings to settle the dispute by a compromise to the effect that the Company's servants would continue to engage in internal trade, but on payment of inland customs of 9 per cent were foiled by the hostility on the part of the majority of the members of the Calcutta Council, who, in their behaviour towards Mir Casim, displayed, as Macaulay says, " the strength of civilisation without its mercy."[63] In fact they were prejudiced against Mir Casim from the beginning of his government, and Mr. Ellis, Resident at Patna, was his bitterest enemy. To save his own subjects, Mir Casim, on failure of the compromise, abolished (1762) trade duties altogether, thus making his Subah a free-trading country,—but the members of the Calcutta Council, with the exception of Vansittart and Hastings, unjustly demanded that the duties should be re-established.

62 Verelst, *View of Bengal*, p. 48.

63 Roberts, p. 152.

The failure to arrive at an agreement regarding the internal trade of the Company and its servants, made a conflict between the Nawab and the English inevitable, and it was precipitated by Mr. Ellis, "who seems deliberately to have aimed at war, in order that the obstacles to the private traffic of himself and his friends might be removed."[64]

Messrs Amyat and Hay were sent on a deputation to the Nawab at Monghyr with the demands of the Calcutta Council on 4th April, 1763. But hostilities had already commenced among the officers of the English and those of Mir Casim, and the Calcutta Council settled on the 14th April the plan of future operations against Mir Casim and instructed Mr. Ellis accordingly. Mir Casim also realised that actual war with the Company was going to break out very soon and tried to make necessary preparations. Amyat's deputation effected nothing, and on the 25th of May Mir Casim captured some boats carrying war implements from Calcutta to Mr. Ellis at Patna, near Monghyr, in reprisal of which Ellis captured Patna. The expected war now broke out. But the Nawab's troops were defeated in three engagements at Gheriah, Suti and Udhuanallah (August 1763). The last battle practically decided the fate of Mir Casim. Prompted by a spirit of revenge against the English, he decided to proceed to Patna; and in a desperate mood he cruelly put to death his Indian prisoners (whom he suspected of complicity with the Company, —Raja Ramnarayan, the two Seth brothers, Rayrayan Umid Ray, Raja Rajballabh with his sons, and others (some at Monghyr and some near Barh on his way to Patna). At Patna a number of English prisoners were massacred[65] under his orders by Walter Rheinhardt, a German adventurer in his service (who earned the appellation of 'Somru' or the Sombre); but Mir Casim was ultimately defeated by the English and retreated into the country beyond the Ganges.

64 Ramsay Muir, p. 38.

65 The site of the massacre is the present Patna City cemetery, where there is a memorial.

The pensioned Mir Jafar had already been restored on the throne of Bengal by the English, and on the 10th July he signed a treaty by which it was settled that "the English shall carry on their trade by means of their own *dustucks*, free from all duties, taxes and impositions, in all parts of the country excepting the salt on which a duty of two and a half per cent is to be levied on the 'Rowna' or Houghly market price; wherein, it is further agreed, that the late Perwannahs, issued by Cossim Ally Khan (Mir Casim) granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before." He also promised to make compensation for all losses, public and private, due to the war with Mir Casim. Nandkumar was appointed his chief minister, but the English soon suspected him of hostile designs, as he had sent letters to the Emperor's and the Wazir's camps.[66] Mir Jafar's second Nawabship was not less troublesome to him than the first one. The abuses of the Company's servants in the internal trade of the country increased,[67] and owing to prevalence of disorder, revenues could not be properly collected, and the new demands of the Company's servants in Calcutta fell heavily upon the old Nawab.[68] He died early in 1765.

After leaving Patna, Mir Casim had ultimately obtained shelter in the court of Nawab Shujah-ud-dowla of Oudh. The Emperor Shah Alam was also at that time with the Nawab Wazir. The Nawabs of Oudh had for the last three decades been always looking towards Bengal as a natural sphere for extension of their authority, and Shujah-ud-dowla agreed to help Mir Casim more out of motives of personal gain than of helping a brother ruler in recovering his lost throne. The exile Mir Casim helped the Nawab Wazir by subduing the rebels of Bundelkhand and arranged with him that "on the Vezir's crossing the Ganga, and entering the enemy's country, Mir

66 Long, No. 1738.

67 K. K. Datta, History of the East India Company's Trade, 1757—65, —*Calcutta Review*.

68 Long, Nos. 725 and 714.

Casim from that day, and for so long as the expedition might last, would pay him for the expenses of his army eleven lacs of rupees per month." Joined by an adventurous party of the French, the allies proceeded towards Bihar. On the side of the English, Major Carnac who had succeeded Major Adams, had no conspicuous military talent, and the English troops were mutinous. The first half of 1764 was spent in indecisive engagements on the borders of Oudh and Bihar. But Major Hector Munro arrived and restored the discipline of the army by blowing twenty-five mutineers from his guns and by breaking one sepoy battalion as quickly as possible.

The two armies then met at Buxar on 22nd October, 1764, where the troops of the Nawab Wazir and Mir Casim presented a stubborn resistance, but were ultimately defeated. The Nawab Wazir continued a futile resistance, while the whole of Oudh was overrun by Fletcher, who had succeeded Major Munro. Shujah-ud-dowla then fled to the Rohilla country, the Emperor came over to the side of the English, and Mir Casim, stripped of all his jewels and deserted by his friends, led a wandering life making further attempts at regaining his power, till he died in utmost poverty at Delhi in 1777.[69] "Thus ended the famous battle of Buxar, on which depended the fate of India, and which was as gallanlty disputed as was important in its results.[70]

The battle of Buxar aws more decisive in results than the battle of Plassey. Plassey had enabled the Company to establish a puppet Nawab on the throne of Bengal and had no doubt immensely added to the prestige of the English. But Buxar did something more. Besides enabling them to strengthen their hold over Bengal, it afforded them an opportunity of bringing the north-west frontier of the Subah under their control. If Plassey saw the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal, Buxar proclaimed the defeat of the greater power of Oudh and even of the Mughal Emperor. While the rulers of Oudh

69 'Last days of Mir Casim,'—*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. X, pp. 123—132.

70 Broome, *Bengal Army*, p. 480.

thought of extending their influence eastwards, the English Company was also growing in power in that region, and so a contest between the two was only a question of time, and the Company was placed in a position of advantage when Oudh took the aggressive, and the issue was decided in 1764 in its favour. As Mr. Ramsay Muir remarks, " Buxar finally riveted the shackles of Company's rule upon Bengal."

After the death of Mir Jafar the Calcutta Council placed his second son Najm-ud-dowla on the throne of Bengal in preference to the minor son of Miran, predeceased (by lightning stroke). The right of choice belonged unquestionably to the Emperor but to this right the servants of the Company never for a moment thought of paying any regard.[71] The servants of the Company now got a splendid opportunity of strengthening their hold over the country, for on the 20th February, 1765, the Select Committee entered into a treaty with the new Nawab by which it was arranged that the Nawab was henceforth to maintain troops only for the " support of his dignity, the maintenance of internal peace, and the collection of the revenues." The English obtained the right of controlling the appointment of the Nawab's officers. This new privilege was at once directed against Nandkumar, who early in Mir Jafar's second Nawabship had been suspected of negotiating with Delhi and Oudh, and was now trying to secure an Imperial Sanad for the new Nawab, and he was removed from his office and kept in prison with his son-in-law. " The removal of Nandkumar," notes Prof. Dodwell, " had in fact been essential to the success of the English plan from the first . . . His removal completed the establishment of English influence." It was also provided that he could not apply for sanads to the Emperor without the permission of the President of the Council in Calcutta. The members of the Council compelled the new Nawab to leave their trade privileges untouched, and extorted from him presents for thmselves and their Governor to the total amount of £139,357 (about Rs. 15 lakhs). Thus " a mere outward show of independence was

71 Mill, Vol. III, p. 354.

left to him," and every power passed into the hands of the Company's servants, who committed various kinds of abuses and oppressions both in administrative and commercial spheres. We have a description of the wretched condition of Bengal at this time in Clive's own words: "I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner. The three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, producing a clear revenue of £3,000,000 sterling, have been under the absolute management of the Company's servants, ever since Mir Jafar's restoration to the Subahship; and they have, both civil and military, exacted and levied contributions from every man of power and consequence, from the Nawab down to the lowest Zemindar."[72] This was the natural result of weakness and inefficiency on the one side and selfishness and avarice on the other.

SECTION II

FROM DEWANI TO SOVEREIGNTY, OR THE SECOND DYARCHY IN BENGAL (1765—1771)

The disturbed state of affairs in India made the Court of Directors anxious for restoring order and they appointed Lord Clive Governor of Bengal and President of the Select Committee in Calcutta with Mr. Sykes, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelst and General Carnac as members.[73] The Select Committee was invested with extraordinary powers in civil and military affairs of Bengal; two of its members, Mr. Verelst and General

72 Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, Vol. II, p. 379.

73 "All barriers being thus broken between the English and the country government, and everything out of its proper channel, we are at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion; and being deprived of that confidence which we hoped we might have placed in our servants, who appear to have been the actors in these strange scenes, we can only say that we rely on the zeal and abilities of Lord Clive, and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, to remedy these evils."—Letter from the Court of Directors to Clive, dated 26th April, 1765.

Carnac, were already in Bengal and two others arrived in India with Clive on 3rd May, 1765. Clive had indeed a difficult task before him. He beheld a " presidency divided, headstrong, and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit . . . amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and his helpless people who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression."[74] Lord Clive afterwards said that he " took the resolution of cleansing the Augean stable." But, in fact, his point of view was not so much to provide for the good government of Bengal as to " preserve the Company's political ascendancy by playing upon the weaknesses of the Nawab and his subjects."[75]

To reform the corruptions among the Company's servants was one of the missions of Lord Clive. Soon after his arrival he compelled the Company's servants to sign covenants debarring them from receipt of presents, and ordered them to refrain from private commercial engagements. But the Company's servants did not receive high salaries, and to make up their losses, the Select Committee decided on the 10th of August, 1765, that " a monopoly should be formed of the trade in salt, betelnut, and tobacco, to be carried on exclusively for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company." In spite of the arguments of Verelst[76] (which might very well be biased as he was himself interested in the matter) that the establishment of this monopoly saved the people from various inconveniences and reduced the price of salt, it is now clear that the country merchants were thus deprived of trading in important articles of common consumption. This arrangement was against the repeated instructions of the Court of Directors, and the Society for Trade organised for this monopoly was

74 Letters to the Court from the Select Committee in Calcutta, dated 19th February, 1767; Verelst, *View of Bengal*, Appendix, p. 471.

75 Ramsay Muir, p. 82.

76 *View of Bengal*, pp. 113—117.

therefore abolished, according to their orders in 1767.[77] He next tried to effect a reform in the army by abolishing (1st January, 1766) the system of Double Batta, or extra allowance even in time of peace, which had come into vogue in Bengal since the days of Plassey, having originated in the Carnatic with Chand Sahib and Muhammad Ali. According to Clive's plan, the Company's troops were divided into three brigades, each consisting of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, six battalions of Sepoys, and one troop of 'black' cavalry; and were stationed, one brigade at Monghyr, another at Bankipur, and the third at Allahabad to prevent the incursions of the Marathas.[78] Just as his reform of the covenanted service had generated a conspiracy among the civilians, so his abolition of Double Batta led to a combination among the military officers under the encouragement of Sir Robert Fletcher. But these were firmly put down by him.

More important than these reforms were his settlements with Emperor Shah Alam and Nawab Shujah-ud-dowla. The latter was confirmed in his kingdom with the exception of the districts of Kora and Allahabad, and he agreed to pay 50 lacs of rupees in compensation for the expenses of the war. He entered into a defensive alliance with the Company, by which it engaged to help him with troops for the defence of his frontiers if he required them, and agreed to pay the cost for its maintenance.[79] He also agreed to allow the Company[80] to "carry on a trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions." Raja Balwant Singh, Zamindar of Benares and Ghazipur, who had shared in previous attacks of the Emperor and the Wazir on the Bengal Subah, but had afterwards afforded

77 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

78 Mill, Vol. III, p. 420.

79 This is another instance of the kind of treaty relation that later came to be called subsidiary alliance.

80 So that the same privileges of trade that were enjoyed by the Company in the Bengal Subah were now extended to Oudh, and the great economic disorders of the Bengal Subah therefore spread to Oudh also,

ed much assistance to the Company against them, was through the intervention of the Company, assured of protection and safety by Shujah-ud-dowla, to whom he agreed to pay the usual tribute as before.[81] Thus Oudh became practically dependent on the Company, and henceforth "it was a matter of fixed policy (with the English) to maintain a close alliance with Oudh, which was useful as a bulwark against the threatening power of the Mahrattas."[82]

The fugitive Emperor Shah Alam, who was already anxious to secure the alliance of the English after their victory at Buxar, now received from them the districts of Kora and Allahabad, taken from Oudh by the aforesaid treaty and it was arranged that he would also receive an annual tribute of twenty-six lacs. In return for this, the helpless Emperor had to make[82a] a grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, over which he had no control, on the 12th August, 1765: "... we have granted them (the English) the Diwani of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa ... as a free gift and altamagau, without the association of any other person ... it is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty-six lacs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nawab Najm-ud-dowla Bahadur, and regularly remit the same to the royal Sarkar (government); and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army, for the protection of the provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces, after remitting the sum of twenty-six lacs of rupees to the royal Sarkar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamat. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omras high in rank, the great officers, etc., ... leave the said office in possession of the said Company from

81 Aitchison, *Treaties and Sanads,* Vol. I, p. 89.

82 Ramsay Muir, p. 79.

82a *Siyar-ul-mutakherin,* Vol. III, p. 9; *Sagarf-namah* by Itsamuddin (a manuscript exhibited by us at the 13th session of the I. H. Records Commission).

generation to generation, for and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must on no account whatsoever, give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Diwani, and royal demands."[83] Clive also took this opportunity of securing a formal grant of the Northern Circars, which had, as we have seen already, been taken by the English from the French partisans of Muzaffar Jang of Hyderabad.

The arrangement under the Diwani is highly significant. In short, it was provided that henceforth the servants of the Company were to collect the revenues and defray the expenses of the government, the Nawab of Bengal was to receive a fixed amount of 53 lcs of rupees, and the Emperor 26 lacs. But in fact the acquisition of the Diwani by the English fundamentally altered the relations between them and the Nawab and effected an important transformation in the position of the Company. As a Viceroy of the Mughal Emperor, the Nawab of Bengal discharged two functions: (1) the Diwani or revenue collection and civil justice; (2) the Nizamat, or military power and criminal justice. By a treaty of 20th February, 1765,[84] six months before the Diwani, the Nawab had transferred the second function to the Company, and now by the Diwani the Company obtained the first one. It is clear that real power passed into the hands of the Company. It was no longer

83 Aitchison, *Treaties and Sanads*, Vol. I, p. 225.

84 "I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed resource for defraying the expenses of their troops, the chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father. The sum of five lacs of sicca rupees per month for their maintenance was further agreed to be paid by my father; I agree to pay the same out of my treasury, while the exigency for keeping up so large an army continues. Where the Company's occasions will admit of a diminution of the expenses they are put to on account of those troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from such a proportion of this assignment, as the increased expenses incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the provinces will admit of: And as I esteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto as my own, I will only maintain such as are immediately necessary for the dignity of my person and government, and the business of my collections throughout the provinces."

merely a " trading body " but was elevated to the position of a " ruling power."[84a] Finance is the foundation of a government and a power which can control the financial resources of a country becomes in fact its master. The Court of Directors expressed their sentiments of satisfaction on this arrangement in their letter to Bengal of the 17th May, 1766.[85] They also wrote that they were determined to make provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the utmost bounds of their " Political views or Possessions." The political mastery of the Company over Bengal was an accomplished fact by this time and they were placed in such a position of advantage that it was natural for them to expect for greater political power, though the Court of Directors might not have liked it at that time. The Emperor came under their control, the Nawab of Oudh became a dependent ally and the Nawab of Bengal became in fact their pensioner.

But from various considerations, Clive shrank from accepting the formal responsibility for the administration of the province. The Nizamat or control of military and police functions was left in the hands of the Nawab, who was to be paid out of the revenues a fixed sum to cover expenses.[86] Thus was introduced another dyarchy in 1765, an administration carried on in name by the Nawab but in reality by the Company. This was the ' favourite policy ' of Clive at that time, as is clear from his own words: " The first point in politics which I offer to your consideration is the form of government. We are sensible that since the acquisition of the dewany, the power formerly belonging to the Subah of these provinces is totally, in fact, vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate. Under the sanction of a Subah (Subahdar) every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can be effectually crushed, without any ap-

84a Abbe Raynab, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 348-349.

85 Imperial Records Department (Foreign).

86 Aitchison, Vol. I, p. 229.

parent interposition of our own authority ; and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Subah ; and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction." Thus this dual system was the result of an unwillingness on the part of the Company to assume responsibilities, and it failed to realise that it was taking a risky step by possessing all powers in its hands but leaving the responsibility in the hands of others. As the Nawab of Bengal was a minor, Muhammad Reza Khan was appointed by the Company Naib Nazim or Deputy for Bengal, and Raja Shitab Ray for Bihar, with administrative centres at Murshidabad and Patna respectively, and they were also entrusted with the direct collection of revenues and the civil administration connected with it. Thus, in spite of the *de jure* Diwani of the English, the actual conduct of civil and revenue administration remained in the hands of the native functionaries, who were less able than even Mir Jafar or Mir Casim to check the oppressions of the Company's servants. Far from abolishing the abuses in the field of internal administration, the new system of government under which responsibility was divorced from power produced greater evils, and for these few years the country groaned under a heavy burden of official corruption and oppressions, and the abuses of private trade by the Company's servants increased enormously.[87] Moreover, any demand by the Company for the better realization of revenues payable to it entailed great miseries on the poor ryots, who had to submit patiently to the extortions of the irresponsible revenue officers.

Clive left India in 1767, and under his two inefficient successors in Bengal, Verelst and Cartier, the political atmosphere of the country became more gloomy and the abuses reached greater height. Richard Becher, a servant of the Company, gives an accurate picture of the condition in his letter to the

[87] Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 73.

Secret Committee of the Directors, dated the 24th May, 1769: "It must give pain to an Englishman to have Reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Diwani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted . . . this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its Ruin . . . When the English received the grant of the Diwani, their first consideration seems to have been the raising of as large sums from the country as could be collected to answer the pressing demands from home and to defray the large expenses here. The Zamindars not being willing or able to pay the sums required, *Aumils* (government contractors for revenue) have been sent into most of the districts. These *Aumils* on their appointment agreed with the Ministers (Reza Khan and his staff) to pay a fixed sum for the districts they are to go to, and the man that has offered most had generally been preferred. What a destructive system is this for the poor inhabitants! The *Aumils* have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country where they make the collections, nor have they any certainty of holding their places beyond the year; the best recommendation they can have is to pay up their *Kistbundi* (rent contracts) punctually, to which purpose they fail not to rack the country whenever they find they cannot otherwise pay their *Kists*, and secure a handsome sum for themselves These *Aumils* also have had no check on them during the time of their Employment; they appoint those that act under them: so that during the time of the year's collection their power is absolute"[88] As a result of this Report, the Company appointed in 1769 'Supervisors' of revenues (afterwards called collectors) who were to watch over the working of the Indian Officers. But the 'Supervisors' engaged in private trade and "made confusion more confounded and corruption more corrupt." To add to these, the terrible famine of 1770 produced untold miseries for

88 Ramsay Muir, pp. 92—94.

the people.[89] "The scene of misery that intervened," wrote one of the Company's servants in 1770, and "still continues, shocks humanity too much to bear description. Certain it is, that in several parts the living have fed on the dead."[90] For famine relief the Company's revenue Councils could in one area sanction only Rs. 5 worth of rice for four lacs of sufferers, and altogether less than 90 thousand rupees were spent for relief, meanwhile the resources of Bengal were being drained to maintain the cost of a war in the Peninsular India.

In Southern India, conditions were not less disturbed. The Nawab of the Carnatic had no doubt placed himself under the protection of the English but there were three other Indian powers in the South—Hyder Ali of Mysore, the Maratha Confederacy and the Nizam of Hyderabad,—who were struggling for supremacy. There were frequent shiftings of alliances among them and the English could not remain idle spectators of the political events in the South. The Marathas had recovered from the blow of Panipat and had begun actively to interfere in the politics of the South, and at the same time they had advanced even into the North. But above all the rise of Hyder Ali to power was menacing to all those Peninsular Indian powers as well as to the English.

From a very humble position in the Kingdom of Mysore, Hyder had made himself the undisputed ruler of the kingdom by that time. The principality of Mysore, originally a dependency of the Vijaynagar Empire, had become independent after the break-up of the said Empire in the seventeenth century, and remained under a Hindu ruler till this time. But now the Raja of Mysore, Chikka Krishna Raj (1736—1766), was smarting under the "thraldom of his Mayor of the Palace, Nanjraj."[91] Nanjraj soon usurped the throne of Mysore and

89 "Not a drop of water has fallen in most of the districts for six months. The famine which has ensued, the mortality, the beggary, exceed all descriptions." Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, 9th May, 1770.

90 Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 410.

91 Bowring, *Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan*, p. 17.

it was under him that Hyder began his career as a subordinate officer.

Muhammad Bhailol, the great-grandfather of Hyder, came from the Punjab into the Deccan in the character of a fakir. His two sons Wali Muhammad and Ali Muhammad served as revenue peons. Hyder's father Fatah Muhammad, son of Ali Muhammad, rose by dint of his prowess and military talents to the rank of a Nayak (army officer) and came to Mysore where he became a Faujdar or military commander and received Budikota as a jagir or fief.

The war in the Carnatic gave opportunities to Hyder Ali, who was a man of daring and ambition, to rise into prominence. After the assassination of Nasir Jang and the installation of Muzaffar Jang as Nizam by the French, Hyder, with the help of his Bidar followers, seized a large amount of the late Nawab's treasure and paid a visit to Pondicherry, where he studied the training of the French troops. Soon after he seized some guns belonging to one English convoy, and to strengthen his own military position, he took into his service, a Maratha Brahmin, named Khande Rao. In 1755 he was appointed the Faujdar of Dindigal, where he established "one arsenal under the superintendence of French artificers whose services he obtained from Pondicherry." He added to the number of his troops and amassed a large wealth by plundering the neighbouring chiefs. Thus was being laid the foundation of his future power.

The distracted government of the Subahdar of the Deccan, the humiliation of the Marathas at the third battle of Panipat and the fierce contentions between the English and the French, afforded a fair field for the rise of a man of energy and intelligence. Though unlettered, Hyder possessed a strong determination, admirable courage and keen intellect. He brought the kingdom of Mysore under his control and the Raja remained as a prisoner in his palace. Hyder gradually extended his conquests over Bednore, Sunda, Sera, Canara, Guti, the territory of the Maratha chieftain Morari Rao, and received the submission of the *poligars* of Chikka Ballapur, Raidrug, Harpanhalli and Chitaldrug. But his rise excited the

resentment of the Marathas, the Nizam and the English. In 1765 Peshwa Madho Rao inflicted a defeat on Hyder near Rattihalli, south of Savanur, and he had to conclude a peace with the Marathas by surrendering Guti and Savanur and paying thirty-two lacs as indemnity to the Marathas. In the same year the Madras Council agreed to help the Nizam against Hyder in return for the cession of Northern Circars and in 1766 a triple alliance of the English, the Nizam and the Marathas was formed against Hyder. The Marathas first attacked Mysore, but Hyder "by skilful diplomacy induced the Maratha chief to withdraw his army on receiving thirty-five lacs of rupees, half of which was paid down, while the Kolar district was pledged for the remainder." The Nizam proceeded against Mysore with a party of English troops, under the command of General Joseph Smith, but the enterprise did not prove successful. Influenced by Mahfuz Khan, brother and rival of the pro-English Nawab Muhammad Ali and enemy of the English, the Nizam soon broke the compact which he had made with the Madras Council and effected an alliance with Hyder.

In the month of September 1767, the new allies attacked Smith near Changama but were repulsed. Smith had to run for shelter to the fort at Trinomali where he effected a junction with Colonel Wood, their united forces coming up to 1,030 cavalry, 5,800 infantry and 16 guns. They defeated the Mysore troops, who had followed Smith, in a hard fought contest on 26th September, 1767. Hyder was again defeated at Vaniambadi and he had to march with haste to Malabar, where, due to his absence, the '*Nairs*' had resisted his authority at the instigation of the English Government at Bombay. At this the Nizam, who also heard that Colonel Peach had been sent with a considerable force to attack his own territory, gave up the side of Hyder and entered into a treaty with the English on 23rd February, 1768, involving terms that drew upon the English the inveterate hostility of the Mysore State, which gave great trouble to Cornwallis and could be only subdued by the vigilance and tact of Wellesley. The Nizam confirmed his previous engagements with the English and

declared Hyder as a "rebel and usurper" and agreed to "relinquish to the English Company all his right to the Dewany of the Carnatic Balaghat (Mysore, when that would be conquered from Hyder), belonging to the Soubadarry of Viziapore, and that the Company shall present an *urzee* or petition, to the royal presence, to obtain from the Emperor Shah Alum a Firman, confirming and approving their right thereto." The English agreed to "pay him annually, out of the Dewany collection from the time they are in possession thereof, the sum of seven lakhs of Arcot Rupees, including the Durbar charges." The Nizam promised to help the Company and the Nawab of the Carnatic in punishing Hyder and the English agreed to "send two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the Soubah shall require them and the situation of their affairs will allow of such a body of troops to march into the Deccan, provided the Soubah pays the expense during the time that the said troops are employed in his service." The Court of Directors strongly reprobated this compact with the Nizam. "It is not," they wrote, "for the Company to take the part of umpire of Indostan. If it had not been for the imprudent measures you have taken, the country powers would have formed a balance among themselves. We wish to see the Indian princes remain as a check upon one another without our interfering."[92]

This move on the part of the Madras Council did not bring down Hyder, who was a "bold, an original and an enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy and never desponding in defeat."[93] A completely self-made man, who found Mysore weak and divided but raised it to the position of one of the foremost powers of India in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Hyder was not a robber chief or selfish military adventurer. Besides the daring of a military genius, there was in him the stuff of constructive statesmanship. "In matters of business his shrewd-

92 Mill, Vol. III, p. 475, footnote.

93 Bowring, p. 113.

ness and capacity were remarkable, and he had the faculty of giving his attention to several subjects at the same time, so that he could hear a letter read, dictate orders and witness a theatrical exhibition all at once without being distracted by any one of these occupations."[94] He was certainly an important figure in Indian History. "Notwithstanding the severity of his internal rule, and the terror which he inspired, his name is mentioned in Mysore with respect, if not with admiration."[95]

Such a man was not to be daunted by the desertion of his fickle ally, the Nizam, and he continued the struggle in right earnest. He routed the Bombay forces and recovered Mangalore from their hands. In March 1769 he appeared before Madras at the head of a body of cavalry and compelled the Madras Council to sue for a peace, of which the terms were dictated by Hyder himself. This treaty, which was signed on the 4th April, 1769, contained two general conditions: mutual restitution of conquests, including the cession to Hyder of the district of Karur, an old possession of Mysore but then held by Muhammad Ali, and mutual aid in defensive wars. "Both in regards to the military operations that preceded this treaty and to the conditions which it embodied, the Mysore chief evinced high qualities as a tactician and the sagacity of a born diplomatist. On the other hand, the proceedings of the Madras Council were characterised by a mixture of rashness and irresoluiton, and an absurd confidence in their treacherous ally, Muhammad Ali, of whose duplicity Haider had, on the contrary, formed an accurate estimate."[96] The Madras Council failed to fulfil the treaty obligations because when the Marathas invaded Mysore in 1771, the English did not help Hyder. This excited Hyder's resentment against the English and led to another rupture in the time of Hastings.

These southern wars entailed a heavy drain on Bengal resources. Moreover, "the eyes of the proprietors of the

94 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Company were dazzled by golden visions ; " they thought that Bengal possessed vast resources which the Company could very well tap. In spite of the Company's debts[97] and the opposition of the Directors, the proprietors raised the dividend in 1766 from 6 to 10 per cent. and in 1767 to 12½ per cent.[98] To add to this, the fall of revenue owing to the general misgovernment of the country, " drain of specie, occasioned by the annual exportation of the precious metals, chiefly to China on account of the Company's investment, and also in other directions " and the insufficient supplies of bullion from Europe, caused a great scarcity of money, which greatly affected the Company's exchequer.[99] Thus " within five years of the great triumph of 1765 the Company seemed on the verge of ruin."[100]

This state of things and the enormous fortunes which the *Nabobs* (the servants of the Company) were taking home drew the attention of the public and the intervention of the Parliament. From 1766 to 1772 several Parliamentary Acts were passed to regulate the relations between the Crown and the Company, leading to the famous Regulating Act of 1773. Meanwhile, the Company had appointed Hastings as the Governor of Bengal to remedy the evils of the dual government.

97 Letter from Select Committee to the Court of Directors, 21st November, 1769.

98 Ilbert, *Historical Introduction*, p. 38.

99 Mill, Vol. III, p. 441. On 1st January, 1771, when the Council in Calcutta had received into their treasury Rs. 95,43,855, for which they had granted bills on the Court of Directors, the cash remaining was only Rs. 35,42,761. At the same time the amount of debt in Bengal was £612,628.

100 Ramsay Muir, p. 81.

CHAPTER V

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AS AN INDO-BRITISH POWER (1772–1786)

SECTION I

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER HASTINGS

HASTINGS was definitely appointed to put an end to the evils of the dual government. "We now arm you with our full powers," wrote the Company, "to make a complete reformation."[1] The responsibility, therefore, was very great. Though he was given definite instructions on many points, it is to a certain extent true, as Lord Thurlow says, that he was ordered "to destroy the whole fabric of the double government, under instructions, so general, that I may fairly say the whole plan was left to his judgment and discretion." For good or ill then, the internal reforms in Bengal prior to 1774 are mainly in their details at any rate the work of Warren Hastings and bear the stamp of his personality.

He had great difficulties to confront. Something like an Indian Empire had grown up but it had no administrative framework. "The new government of the Company consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself."[2] He had to attack strong vested interests, and, what was more, he had to try to strengthen an overweakened central government against a too powerful ring of provincial powers. The political centre of gravity had been seriously displaced. The government of the country, he wrote, consisted of the supervisors, the boards of revenue at Murshidabad and Patna, the Governor and Council at Calcutta. To remedy these evils Hastings had to begin with a series of reforms. These reforms fall under four heads, *firstly,*

1 Moncton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal,* p. 143.

2 Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings,* Vol. I, p. 317.

commercial reforms, *secondly,* all those measures which followed upon the abolition of the dual government in pursuance of the Company's proposed intention to "stand forth as the Diwan," *thirdly,* revenue reforms, and *fourthly,* judicial reforms.

According to regulations passed by the Board of Revenue on 23rd March, 1773, Hastings abolished the fraudulent use of the *dustucks* or free passes under which the goods of the Company's servants or their agents were exempted from dues. He suppressed the custom-houses (*chowkies*) in the Zamindaries, which were a great impediment to the free circulation of goods. Only five custom-houses were henceforth maintained, at Calcutta, Hugli, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. Lastly, he carried out a uniform lowering of the duties by 2½ per cent. on all goods, except the monopolies on salt, betel-nut and tobacco, to be paid by all Europeans and Indians alike.[2a] These reforms, all of which were ordered by the Court of Directors, did much to revive the decaying internal trade of Bengal. Hastings could with some justice boast that "goods pass unmolested to the extremities of the province."[3] He issued orders warning the *gomasthas* not to force the weavers to work against their will or to receive *dadni.*[3a] Further, Mr. George Bogle was sent on a mission to Bhutan and Tibet[3b] with a view to facilitate trade-relations with those countries and at the same time "a ship laden with cargo of Indian manufacture was despatched to Jedda with letters to the Governor of Egypt and the Pasha and Sheriff of Jedda requesting them to revive and continue the trade with India and to reduce the duties to a desirable extent."[3c] He also tried to remove the currency abuses, *e.g.,* multiplicity, lack of uniformity and evils relating to *batta* or discount, a work which was followed with more success by Cornwallis. But

2a Moncton Jones, *op. cit.,* pp. 226, 240—254.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 304.

3a *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. IV, p. 301.

3b *Indian Historical Quarterly,* June 1933.

3c *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol. IV, lx, pp. 121-122.

his novel plan of a paper currency proved abortive as it was in advance of the times.[4]

Hastings realised that the time had come when the Company must accept the direct responsibility for the administration of Bengal.[5] This necessitated the removal Muhammad Reza Khan, the Deputy Nawab of Bengal, living at Murshidabad, and of Raja Shitab Ray, Deputy Nawab of Bihar, living at Patna. Both of them were called to Calcutta to answer the respective charges against them, but after a protracted trial they were acquitted of those charges and their offices were abolished. He reorganised the household of the Nawab of Bengal by appointing Muny Begum, the widow of Nawab Mir Jafar, superintendent of the minor Nawab's household and guardian of his person, and Raja Gurudas (son of Nandkumar) was to assist her as her Diwan. These appointments afterwards brought much censure upon Hastings, but it should be noted that these got the approval of the Court of Directors.[6] He tried to readjust the finances by stopping the Imperial revenue on the ground that Shah Alam had placed himself under the protection of the Marathas and by pleading that the famine of 1770 had reduced the revenues of Bengal.[6a] He reduced the Nawab's pension from 32 to 16 lacs of rupees.[7] The Khalsa (treasury) was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta in order to "rectify that displacement of the political gravity," which had shifted from Calcutta to the provinces.

The people were suffering from various evils at the hands of the native '*Amils*,' and the appointment of '*Supervisors*' by the Company in 1769 could not remove these evils. To

4 J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal.*

5 He wrote to the Court of Directors: "You must establish your own power, or you must hold it dependent on a superior which I deem to be impossible."—(Forrest, State Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 12.)

6 "Your choice of the Begum for guardian to the Nawab we entirely approve . . . "—(Secret Select Committee's Proceedings, 6th August, 1772, Vol. I, p. 23.)

6a *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, p. 92.

7 In 1765 it was 53 lacs, in 1766 reduced to 41 lacs, in 1769 to 32 lacs.

remedy them Hastings at first appointed a itinerant committee with himself as its President, and made a tour through certain parts of Bengal, such as Nadia, Murshidabad and the surrounding districts. Hastings thought of direct collection, and the *supervisors* got the title of *collectors*. The Committee of Revenue joined a native officer with the Collector for revenue administration. Each pargana or fiscal division was let out to the highest bidder for a term of five years.[7a] Certain changes were, however, introduced in 1774. "The measures finally adopted," writes Moncton Jones,[8] "were a compromise and an admission of the experimental nature of the work. They comprised two distinct plans, one for immediate operation, but confessedly a temporary half-measure; the other a final and permanent system, drawn up in detail but not to be promulgated until the country should be ripe for it; it was in fact published in 1781." The 'Temporary plan' or the system of Provincial Councils took effect in January 1774. Under this plan the Collectors remained in their districts, but these "were formed into six Divisions (Calcutta, Burdwan, Dacca, Murshidabal, Dinajpur, Patna) each comprehending several inferior districts under the directions of a Chief and Council."[9] In each division a Diwan was appointed to keep accounts in the country language with a Naib Diwan under him in each district. In the final change it was intended by Hastings to leave the revenue work in the districts to the "native subordinate executive," responsible to the Calcutta Committee through the *Khalsa*. By this he wanted to remove the abuses created by the English revenue collectors ("heavy rulers of the people"). He gave effect to his final scheme in 1781, and solved the "problem of waste and oppression in the revenue." The Provincial Councils and Collectors were removed and revenue administration was placed in charge of a Committee of four—Messrs Anderson, Shore, Chartres, and Crofts. These members had no fixed salaries and were sworn

[7a] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, pp. 7—10.

[8] Pp. 290—92.

[9] *Ibid.*

to receive no perquisites. They were to have a commission of 10 per cent on the net monthly collections, and double on the amount sent immediately to Calcutta.

The native judicial institutions were paralysed and honey-combed with abuses. But Hastings did not want to replace the native codes of law by western laws. He wanted to organise and reform. Under his directions a digest of Hindu Law was prepared by ten learned Pandits of the province. He established a civil and a criminal court in each district, utilising the existing courts of the *Daroga Adalat Diwani* (Mofussil or provincial Diwani) for civil cases and *Faujdari Adalat* for criminal cases.[10] He established the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* in Calcutta. In the former, appeals in civil cases were to be heard by the President and two Councillors, helped by the Rayrayan (Diwan of the Khalsa) and the chief Kanungoes. In the latter, investigations in criminal appeals and capital sentences were made by the Nazim's deputy, the Chief Kazi and Mufti,[11] and three Moulavis, and if sanctioned by them the sentences received the Nawab's formal warrant and were sent to the district courts for execution.[12] For improving the actual working of the law, the following rules were laid down :

(1) All proceedings were to be recorded in courts of every kind. (2) A time limit was set to all litigation. (3) *Chouth* (or " the exaction of a fourth part of all litigated property ") and other heavy fines were abolished. (4) Discretionary power exercised by the creditor over the person of the debtor was inhibited. (5) Arbitration to settle all cases of disputed property (not exceeding the value of ten rupees) was encouraged.

Hastings tried to check the abuses in the administration of the Mayor's Court. His reforming zeal led him also to take serious steps for suppressing the evils of dacoity and Sannyasi raids which had increased greatly on account of the weakness

10 *Ibid.*, Mill's *History of British India*, Vol. III, pp. 529-30.

11 Official Exponent of Muhammadan Law.

12 Jones, p. 314.

of native administration in Bengal.[13] He also expelled the Bhooteas from Kuch Behar.[14] Thus, with these changes, as Hunter says, Hastings firmly laid " the foundations of the civil administration " on which " the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis."[15]

Hastings' position and powers were greatly modified by the Regulating Act of Lord North. " It was by the Regulating Act of 1773 that for the first time, the British nation, as a nation, assumed the actual responsibility of the government of the territories won by the servants of a trading corporation.[16] There was a gradual growth of feeling that the British people themselves through Parliament rather than through a commercial Company should be responsible for British rule in India. The East India Company, however strong and powerful, was considered unequel to its task and there were widely prevalent reports of scandalous misrule and corruption. The servants of the Company brought back immense wealth from India and gave rise to a desire in the minds of the politicians of converting a part of the profits to the exchequer to lighten the burden of British taxpayers. The Court of Proprietors also thought that the East India Company was making large profits and, in spite of the opposition of the Court of Directors, who were aware of the bad financial state of the Company, raised the dividends on their stock in 1766 from six to ten per cent and in 1767 to twelve and a half. In 1767, the Parliament also limited the rate of dividend to be declared and obliged the Directors to pay to the exchequer an annual sum of £400,000. In 1772, the Directors applied for a loan of one million pounds to the state. The loans of the Bank had failed to bring up its sinking credit and the disorganisation in the Company's affairs compelled the Parliament to regulate these. In 1773, the state granted to the Company a loan of £1,400,000 at 4 per cent on certain conditions, such as the obligation to submit their

13 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

14 Forrest, Vol. I, p. 20.

15 *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, p. 486.

16 Forrest, Vol. I, p. 52.

accounts to the Treasury. The other Act, better known as the Regulating Act, gave the Company a new constitution.

It remodelled the constitution of the Company at home. It raised the qualification for a vote in the Court of Proprietors from £500 to £1,000, and took steps to prevent the multiplication of votes. The Directors were to be elected for four years and one-fourth of their number was to retire every year, remaining at least one year out of office. Thus the members of the court were given greater security of tenure and could follow a more consistent and continuous policy at home and abroad. Secondly, it reconstructed the constitution of the Company in India. It set up in Bengal a Governor-General who was to be assisted and controlled by four councillors. Every question was to be decided by a majority ; each had equal power and the Governor-General, who was the President, had a casting vote only in case of a tie. It also provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, independent of the Governor-General and Council. Lastly, it subjected the Company to the supervision of the ministry and the subordinate presidencies to the supervision of the supreme government in Calcutta. It required all information regarding the revenues to be laid before the Treasury and everything dealing with the civil or military administration to be put before a Secretary of State. The Governor-General and the Council of Bengal got a limited control over the other Presidencies so far as wars and treaties with native powers were concerned. The first Governor-General and Councillors, Warren Hastings, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Barwell and Philip Francis were named in the Act. Sir Elijah Impey was appointed Chief Justice. They were to remain in office for five years and future appointments were to be made by the Company. They received liberal salaries,[17] but the Act prohibited the receipt of presents or the carrying on of private trade and provided penalties for breach of trust and misconduct.

17 £25,000—Governor-General.
£10,000—Councillors.
£8,000—Chief Justice.

" The Act was probably on the whole an honest attempt to deal with a difficult problem," but it was open to many criticisms. A Speaker in the Commons in 1781 said of it not unfairly: " In the mode of applying a reform, Parliament was precipitate and individuals were intemperate."[18] By abolishing the vote of £500 stockholders the Act punished the small proprietors who could not split votes and rewarded those who could. The laudable object of preventing the retired Company's servants from gaining an excessive influence in the counsels of the Company was not realised. Secondly, the Governor-General was placed at serious disadvantages. The aid and support of the ministers was indispensable for him and Warren Hastings, who was the only Governor-General to work under the Regulating Act, had to place a large share of the Indian patronage at their disposal. The Governor-General was not given any overriding authority and as Lyall says it produced " divided counsels and discordant executive from the very beginning."[19] The Council could bring about a deadlock in the executive. The control of the Supreme Government at Calcutta over the other presidencies was limited and incomplete. It applied only to their power of making war on or concluding peace with Indian States and was qualified by ' two exceptions of disastrous latitude '—in the case of having received special orders from home or in the case of urgent necessity of which the subordinate governments themselves could be judges. The field of jurisdiction of the supreme court, the law it had to administer and its relations with the Council were unhappily vague and led to calamitous consequences. The Regulating Act ' was a half-measure and failed in its object to establish a self-acting balance of powers and to prevent abuses by a system of co-ordinate authorities."[20]

Some of the particular appointments made by the Parliament were unfortunate. Francis and Clavering had no Indian experience and the former sailed with the hope that he would

18 *Cambridge History*, p. 191.

19 *Warren Hastings*, p. 56.

20 *Cambridge History*, p. 190.

succeed Hastings whom he regarded as standing in his way to occupy the first situation in the world attainable by a subject. They sailed to India with the idea deep-rooted in their minds that the government was corrupt and tyrannical.

The new régime was formally inaugurated on October 20, 1774, and in the words of Roberts " there ensued a six years' struggle which is probably unique in the history of administration."[21] First of all the Councillors quarrelled about some omissions in the ceremonial in the Governor-General's reception. They next attacked his whole policy and method of government. The Rohilla War was condemned as ' carrying upon the face of it, a manifest violation of all those principles of policy which we knew have been established by the highest authority, and till now universally admitted as the basis of the Company's Counsels in the administration of the affairs in India.'[22] The Council recalled Middleton from Lucknow and demanded from Hastings his whole correspondence with Middleton. Hastings regarded this as a personal and direct indignity.[23] Champion was asked to withdraw from Rohilkhand and to demand at once the 40 lakhs which the Nawab had promised. " They denounced the Rohilla War as an abomination, and yet their great anxiety now was to pocket the wages of it."[24]

The next question on which Hastings came into conflict with his Council was about the Treaty of Faizabad. The Nawab Wazir died in January, 1775, and the Council decided that all the treaties with Shuja-ud-dowla were personal. In spite of the remonstrances of Hastings the liabilities of his successor Asaf-ud-dowla were increased. He had to pay a heavier subsidy for the use of British troops ; the sovereignty of Benares was ceded to the Company which also received the tribute paid by the Zamindar of Ghazipur. " The statesman who has been branded as the violator of treaties and oppressor of

21 Roberts, *British History*, p. 183.

22 *Cambridge History*.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

24 *A Comprehensive History of India*, by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 365.

nations by extortions and exactions did his utmost to prevent his colleagues from extorting any concession from a native prince inconsistent with a former treaty."[25]

The quarrel between the Governor-General and the Council naturally undermined the position of Warren Hastings and several charges of defalcations were produced against him, including a letter from the Rani of Burdwan alleging that Hastings had received a gratification. More important is the case of Nand Kumar. On March 11, 1775, Nand Kumar accused Hastings of having received among other bribes, one of Rs. 3,54,105 from Muny Begum, the widow of Mir Jafar, for appointing her guardian to the young prince. Hastings refused to be tried by the Council and arraigned at his own Council Board " in the presence of a wretch, whom you all know to be one of the bases of mankind."[26] When Hastings had withdrawn from the Council, the majority resolved that ' there is no species of peculation from which the Governor-General has thought it reasonable to abstain.'[27] They judged him guilty and ordered him to refund the money. A few days later, on April 23, Hastings lodged a complaint against Nand Kumar and others that they had tried to coerce a certain Indian Kamaluddin to accuse Hastings of having received other bribes. Nand Kumar was acquitted on this pending charge but while this matter was still pending he was suddenly arrested and committed for trial on a charge of forgery brought against him by Mohan Prasad, the executor of an Indian banker. He was tried, found guilty, sentenced to death and executed on August 5, 1775. The charges against Hastings could not be proceeded with but the papers were sent to England where the law officers declared that the statements could not possibly be true.

" Hastings never at any time actually denied in so many words the truth of Nand Kumar's statement."[28] He drew up a

25 Forrest's *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 73.

26 *Cambridge History*, p. 233.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 234.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 233.

long minute, which, according to Burke and George Elliot, bore every sign of conscious guilt. His case would have stood him better had he faced an inquiry before the Council and denied the accusation. Moreover, Hastings had actually received Rs. 1,50,000 from the Begum, which, even his defender Sir James Stephens says, 'if not positively illegal, was at least questionable.'[29] His defence was that the sum in question was not a bribe but a sumptuary allowance ; it was customary as Clive and Verelst had received before him ; and when he received the money, the Act prohibiting the presents was not yet passed. If it was a sumptuary allowance, there was no need for Hastings to be so mysterious about it. It is a weak defence to say that others before him had taken it and, as Roberts says, 'it was really a monstrous abuse that, when the Governor of Bengal, whose salary and allowances amounted to between £20,000 and £30,000, visited Murshidabad, he should receive from the Nawab an allowance amounting to £225, a day.'[30]

It seems certain, however, that Nand Kumar did not receive a fair trial and his execution was a miscarriage of justice. Sir James Stephens admits that 'if he had to depend upon the evidence called for the prosecution, he would not have convicted the prisoner.'[31] Moreover, it is doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the natives, and almost certain that 'the English law making forgery a capital crime was not operative in India till many years after Nand Kumar's alleged forgery had been committed.' Thirdly, the Judges cross-examined the defence witnesses rather severely on the inadequate ground that the prosecution counsel was incompetent. Nand Kumar felt at that time that he was not receiving a fair trial and requested his counsel to withdraw. Fourthly, the summing of Impey was obviously unfair to the accused as he told the Jury that if Nand Kumar's defence witnesses were not believed, the fact condemned him.

29 *Nuncomar and Impey*, Vol. I, p. 72.

30 *Cambridge History*, p. 234.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

This does not mean that there was any conspiracy between Hastings and Impey. Nand Kumar wrote a letter to Clavering suggesting that he was a victim of conspiracy between the Governor-General and the Supreme Court but we have to remember that Impey was only one of the Judges, that he did not always see eye to eye with the Governor-General, and that there was a Jury. It is difficult to assume that they were all privy to the conspiracy. Moreover, the charge of forgery 'developed in a natural way out of a long-standing litigation' which had begun in 1772. Beveridge in his 'Trial of Maharaja Nand Kumar' denies that there was any real attempt at a criminal prosecution till May 1775 and Sir Alfred Lyall hints that Hastings conveyed to Mohon Prasad the intimation that it was a favourable opportunity to accuse Nand Kumar.[32] Hastings referred to Impey as one "to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour and reputation,"[33] and Macaulay supposed this to refer to the trial of Nand Kumar. It is doubtful to believe that Hastings would be so very indiscreet as to use such words and it probably refers to the incident of his resignation in 1777 when Impey decided that Hastings' agent had executed his instructions.

The miscarriage of justice consisted in this that the punishment of death was not only severe but inopportune. Forgery was universally regarded in India as a misdemeanour and a fine or imprisonment would have been sufficient, as Stephens says, to meet the ends of justice. Moreover, the execution of a man, who had dared to accuse the Governor-General, was liable to be misunderstood by the Indians. Impey later on declared that if this ground had been put forward he would have reprieved the prisoner, but Roberts pertinently asks, 'was it really necessary or ought it to have been necessary, to call the attention of the Chief Justice to the fact?'[34] The character of Hastings would have stood far higher if he had tried to

32 Lyall's *Hastings*, p. 71.

33 Gleig, Vol. II, p. 255.

34 *Cambridge History*, p. 238. The Judges feared that if Nand Kumar was reprieved there would be some suspicion that they had been corrupted.

exert himself in the cause of mercy but he was glad that Nand Kumar was being removed from his path. It is difficult to understand why the Council did not make any efforts to get Nand Kumar pardoned. Francis approved of the idea of the Council appealing for the reprieve of Nand Kumar but Clavering and Monson declined to have anything to do with it. " It casts the darkest and most sinister shadow over the reputation of the men who used him for their own purpose and then callously and contemptuously flung him to the wolves."[35]

After the loss of the American colonies, Indian affairs again attracted the attention of the politicians in England. In 1781 the Parliament appointed a Select Committee and a Secret Committee to investigate into the causes of the wars in the Carnatic (the Peninsula) and to inquire into the administration of justice in Bengal. When these committees submitted their reports, the House of Commons resolved in May 1782 to recall Hastings and the President of Bombay. But the resolution was not ratified owing to the strong opposition of the Proprietors of the East India Company and the fall of the Rockingham Ministry. With the formation of the Coalition Ministry of Fox and North, Fox introduced his India Bills one on the 20th November and the other on the 26th November, 1783. The main features of the first Bill were that for four years all political and military powers should be vested in the hands of seven commissioners, to be appointed at first by Parliament and afterwards by the Crown and that the management of all commercial affairs should be left with nine ' assistant directors,' to be nominated at first by Parliament but afterwards by the Court of Proprietors. Though passed by the House of Commons, the Bill, owing to the fierce opposition of Pitt and the personal pressure exerted by the King on the peers, was defeated in the House of Lords by 95 to 76 votes.

The Coalition Ministry and the Whigs were discredited, and Pitt came forward to form his famous ministry in 1784. He introduced his own Bill for the better regulation of Indian

35 *Cambridge History*, p. 239.

concerns.[36] This famous Act, " was the culminating point of one of the recurrent periods of state inspection into East Indian affairs " and it practically transferred the control of Indian affairs from the Company to the Crown.[37] By it the supreme authority in civil and military affairs was vested in a body of six ' Commissioners for the affairs of India,' popularly known as the Board of Control, consisting of Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the principal Secretaries of State, and four Privy Councillors. In practice, however, the real power passed into the hands of the President of the Board. The supreme government of India was entrusted to the Governor-General and Council of three, possessing full control over the subordinate presidencies in all matters relating to peace and war, finance and foreign policy. Thus an important step was taken towards the assumption of direct responsibility by the Parliament for governing the Indian possessions.

SECTION II

External Relations Under Hastings

Hastings' relations with the Indian powers form an important subject of his administration. His foreign policy may be studied broadly under three heads: relations with the Emperor, kingdoms of Oudh and Rohilkhand, affairs in Western and Southern India. In all these his guiding principle was to establish the supremacy of the English throughout India.

After recovering from the blows of Panipat, the Marathas had crossed the Narbada again in 1769 and were

36 The real object of the measure was stated by him in his opening speech: " The imperial dominion of our territories in the East ought to be placed under other control than that of the Company of merchants in Leadenhall Sreet, but the change ought to be made with as little violence as possible, it ought to be made by the conviction of the Company, and not by violence."—(Forrest, Vol. I, p. 296.)

37 The transfer to the Crown in 1858 was a formal one. The masses of the people in Bengal early in the nineteenth century knew that their direct sovereigns were Kings George III and George IV, as is shown by a contemporary MS. History and School text-book from East Bengal, exhibited by us in the thirteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Patna.

interfering in the politics of Northern India. The Emperor Shah Alam had become practically a tool in their hands, and Madhaji Sindhia had conducted him to the Maratha capital in December 1771. The Emperor handed over to the Marathas the districts of Kora and Allahabad in return for a promise on the part of the latter that they could establish him on the throne of Delhi. Hastings considered that to allow the Marathas to continue in possession of those districts would be prejudicial to the interests of the Company, and that the Emperor had lost his right to those districts by throwing himself into the hands of the Company's enemies. He, therefore, decided to discontinue the payment of the annual tribute to the Emperor, and by the Treaty of Benares (September 1773) he restored Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh in return for fifty lacs of rupees and an annual subsidy for maintaining a garrison of the Company's troops to be employed in the service of the Nawab.[37a] For this transaction Hastings' conduct has been variously criticised by Mill[38] and others. Leaving aside the moral and legal sides of the affairs it may be said that his action was justified from the point of view of practical politics.[39] Hastings wanted to secure two objects: to provide for the effectual protection, in an important frontier of the Company's possessions in Bengal and Bihar by securing an ally in the Nawab of Oudh, and to check the active interference of the Marathas in the political affairs of Northern India. It should be remembered that the "central pillar of Hastings' foreign policy was the alliance with Oudh."

37a Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, pp. 95—97.

38 Mill, Vol. III, p. 397.

39 He has summarised the advantages of his policy in the following way: "By ceding them to the Nawab of Oudh, we strengthen our alliance with him, we make him more dependent upon us, as he is more exposed to the hostilities of the Marathas; we render a junction between him and them, which has been sometimes apprehended morally impossible, since their pretensions to Korah will be a constant source of animosity between them; we free ourselves from the expense and all the dangers attending either a remote property, or a remote connection; we adhere literally to the limited system laid down by the Court of Directors. We are no longer under the necessity of exhausting the wealth of our own

But, in one way, this drew the Company into the Rohilla War. In order to prevent the invasions of the Marathas into Rohilkhand, a treaty of alliance was concluded between the Nawab of Oudh and the Rohillas, in the presence of the British Commander-in-Chief Sir Robert Barker, on the 17th June, 1772, by which the Rohillas promised to pay forty lacs to the Nawab on his compelling the Marathas to leave their country. In the spring of 1773 the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand; but the united forces of the Nawab of Oudh and the English kept them beyond the borders of Rohilkhand. In the month of May the main body of the Marathas returned to their capital in the Deccan on hearing of the disturbances at Poona following the death of the Peshwa Madho Rao. The Nawab Wazir then demanded the stipulated sum of forty lacs, but Hafiz Rahamat Khan, the leader of the Rohillas, evaded payment. The Nawab Wazir demanded help from the English according to the terms of the treaty of Benares, and Hastings and the Council in Calcutta acceded to hsi demand. The combined forces of the Nawab Wazir and of the English under Colonel Champion marched into Rohilkhand on the 17th April. Six days later, the decisive battle was fought at Miranpur Katra. Hafiz Rahamat was killed after a gallant fight, and about 20,000 Rohillas were driven out of the country, which now became a part of the Nawab Wazir's dominions.

Hastings' policy in connection with the Rohilla War has been severely condemned by Francis Burke, Macaulay, and the older school of historians like Mill and others, who hold that "Hastings deliberately sold the lives and liberties of a free people and condoned horrible atrocities on the part of the armies of the Nawab of Oudh." While, on the other

provinces in the pay and disbursements of our brigades employed at distance between them; but by fixing the sum to be paid by the Vezir for their services at their whole expense, and by removing every possible cause for their passing our own borders, but at his requisition and for his defence, we provide effectually for the protection of our frontier, and reduce the expenses of our army even in employing it; and, lastly, we acquire a net sum of fifty lakhs of rupees most reasonably obtained for the relief of the Company's necessities, and the deficient circulation of the currency of the province."—(Forrest, Vol. I, p. 24.)

hand, some of the modern defenders of Hastings, chiefly Sir John Strachey, have tried to defend his policy in every point. But an impartial historian cannot fail to notice that the policy is unjustifiable from certain points of view. It is doubtful if it was at that time very expedient for the Company to send their forces against a native kingdom. While concluding the treaty of Benares, Hastings thought that there would be no occasion for rendering any aid to the Nawab Wazir. He himself doubted the expediency of the whole matter, and handled it during its early stages with vacillation. "For a statesman to commit himself to a course of action while hoping that the need for it may not arise, is not the happiest or most efficient kind of political conduct."[40] Hastings afterwards declared that he was in duty bound to help the Nawab Wazir in that matter because the treaty between the Nawab Wazir and the Rohillas had been concluded under British guarantee. But we know that Sir Robert Barker had merely witnessed the signatures. It is also unfair to contend, as Sir John Strachey has done, that the Rohillas could very well be driven out of their kingdom because they had established their rule over the Hindu population for only twenty-five years. They had not certainly misused their power by oppressing on the people, who were, on the other hand, living happily under Rohilla sway. It was rather the new rule of the Nawab of Oudh which became more oppressive on the people and inflicted various evils on them. Moreover, as Sir Alfred Lyall writes, "the expedition against the Rohillas was wrong in principle, for they had not provoked us, and the Vezir could only be relied upon to abuse his advantages."[41] It is to be admitted that Hastings' chief motive was mercenary.[42]

40 *Cambridge History of British India.*

41 Lyall, *Warren Hastings,* p. 49.

42 This is clear from his own statement. "The absence of the Marathas," Hastings wrote, "and the weak state of the Rohillas promised an easy conquest of them, and I own that such was my idea of the Company's distress at home added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces, that saves so much of their pay and expenses."—(Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War,* p. 55.)

The Company was soon involved into hostilities with the Marathas. Raghunath Rao, the uncle of the murdered Peshwa Narayan Rao, was negotiating with the Bombay Council for English help against other Maratha leaders. On the 7th of March, 1775, the Bombay Council, without any orders from the Supreme Council in Calcutta, signed the treaty of Surat with him. There were sixteen articles of the treaty, of which the most important were that the English would support Raghunath Rao's (Raghoba's) claims to the Peshwaship with a force of 2,500 men, of which the cost should be defrayed by him ; that Salsette, Bassein and the adjacent islands were to be ceded to the English perpetually with a part of the revenues of the Broach and Surat districts ; that Maratha raids into Bengal, and the Carnatic were to cease ; and that any peace made by Raghoba with the Poona Council was to include the English.[43] In the meanwhile, the birth of a son to Ganga Bai, the widow of the murdered Peshwa Narayan Rao, placed a new card in the hands of the confederate Maratha leaders, like Sakharam Bapu and Nana Phadnavis. But Colonel Keating had arrived at Surat with British troops on 27th February, 1775, in accordance with the orders of the Bombay Council. The allied troops of Raghunath Rao and Colonel Keating inflicted a defeat on the forces of the Maratha leaders on the 18th May, 1775, on the plain of Arras, lying between the river Mahi and the town of Anand.

The Calcutta Council, however, soon condemned this action of the Bombay Council as ' impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised, and unjust,' and sent Lt. Upton from Calcutta to Poona to negotiate for a treaty with the Maratha chiefs. Colonel Keating was ordered to withdraw his troops. Colonel Upton then concluded the treaty of Purandhar with the Marathas on 1st March, 1776, which laid down that a general peace should be established with the Marathas, and that the English should be allowed to retain Salsette, and should in return give up the cause of Raghunath Rao, who was to retire to Kopargoan in Gujrat on a monthly pension of Rs. 25,000

43 Vide *Cambridge History of British India*, Vol. V, p. 257.

from the Peshwa's government. The terms of the treaty were not liked by the Bombay authorities, who continued to give protection to Raghunath Rao, and the Maratha leaders at Poona also evaded fulfilment of its terms. Then the arrival of a French adventurer named Chevalier de St. Lubin[44] at Poona, and Nana Phadnavis' attachment to him, created suspicions in the minds of the English about French designs in South India. Moreover, the Court of Directors in their several despatches, expressed their disapproval of the terms of the treaty of Purandhar and urged on the necessity of retaining Salsette in the hands of the Company. The Bombay Council, thereupon, renewed the alliance with Raghunath Rao, and despatched a force under Colonel Egerton (an officer of weak health and totally ignorant of Indian conditions) towards Poona in November, 1778. On account of ill-health Egerton had to make over the command to Colonel Cockburn in January 1779, but the British troops soon met with reverses, which led them to conclude a humiliating convention at Wadgaon. By this all territorial acquisitions made by the Bombay government since 1773 were to be given up ; the troops advancing from Bengal were to be stopped, and Sindhia was to receive a share of the revenues of Broach.[45]

Hastings felt this discomfiture of the Bombay army as a disgrace to the Company, and he wrote : " We have already disavowed the convention of Wadgaon. Would to God we could as easily efface the infamy which our national character has sustained."[46] He promptly adopted some measures, " frantic military exploits of the Governor-General," as his enemies have styled them, which restored the prestige of the English and strengthened their position in relation to the Maratha states. A strong force was despatched from Bengal under Goddard, who after a brilliant march right across Central

44 *Vide* the Chapter on ' Relations Between the English and the French.'

45 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, p. 215; Aitchison, *Treaties, etc.,* VI, p. 39.

46 *Ibid.*

India, took possession of Ahmadabad on the 15th February 1780 and captured Bassein on the 11th December. While making an attempt to advance towards Poona, Goddard however sustained a defeat in April 1781, and had to fall back. But Captain Popham, who had also been sent from Bengal to create a diversion in Goddard's favour in Central India by supporting the Rana of Gohad (against his rebellious subjects incited by the Marathas), captured on the 3rd August the hill-fort of Gwalior, which had so long been regarded as impregnable. The Sindhia was also defeated on the 16th February, 1781, at Sipri (modern Sivpuri) by General Camac, who had been sent in June 1781, to help the Rana of Gohad.[47] The moral effect of these exploits was great ; they immensely added to the prestige of the English.

The Sindhia now changed his attitude and promised by a treaty with the English on the 13th October, 1781, that he would act as an intermediary in effecting a reconciliation between the Peshwa's ministers and the English. Thus the treaty of Salbai, which contained seveteen clauses, was signed on the 17th May, 1782. This treaty confirmed the possession of Salsette to the English, destroyed the pretensions of Raghoba, who was pensioned off by the Peshwa, restored to the Sindhia all the territory west of the Jumna and established the *status quo* in Bombay Deccan.[48]

The material gains of the treaty were not " very impressive "[49] and the English only retained Salsette, and the financial resources of the Company were greatly exhausted, which drove Hastings to objectionable expedients for collecting money. But it formed a turning-point in the history of English supremacy in India. It is true that it gave the Company " peace with the Marathas for twenty years," but there is no ground for overemphasising the importance of the treaty

47 *Cambridge History of British India,* Vol. V, p. 270.

48 Gleig, Vol. II, pp. 539-40; Aitchison, IV, 41.

49 The English had no other way left but to make such an unimpressive peace, for their main object at this time was to break up the combination organised by the Hindus; this being now done, the East India Company was left free to fight Mysore better.

by holding that " it established beyond dispute, the dominance of the British as controlling factor in Indian politics, their subsequent rise in 1818 to the position of the paramount power, being an inevitable result of the position gained by the treaty of Salbai."[50] Hyder and Tippu of Mysore proved no less formidable rivals of the Company.

The political affairs of Madras were no less complex and serious than those of Bombay or Bengal. The relation between the Madras Presidency and Muhammad Ali, the titular Nawab of the Carnatic, was not exactly similar to that of the Bengal Council with the Subahdar of Bengal. The titular Nawab of the Carnatic possessed a dangerous amount of responsibility as the Madras Presidency had not acquired there anything like the Diwani of Bengal and thus did not possess executive and financial control over the Carnatic. Moreover, the Madras Council was always " liable to interference of the home authorities, sometimes ill-informed, sometimes ill-authorised, but at this time generally incalculable."[51] Thus in 1770 and 1771 the Home Government in England sent out Sir John Lindsay and Sir Robert Harland as plenipotentiaries at Muhammad Ali's Court, independent of the Madras Council.[52] These two commissioners disagreed with the policy of the Madras Council and adopted the Nawab's political views. The Nawab had also no want of other supporters among the junior servants of the Company to whom he had offered private presents in money and who had become greatly demoralised and unmindful of their public duties. Thornton justly writes that the " moral atmosphere of Madras appears at this time to have been pestilential ; corruption revelled unrestrained ; and strong indeed must have been the power which could effectually

50 *Cambridge History,* Vol. V, p. 271.

51 *Ibid.,* p. 277.

52 John Macpherson had been sent on a mission from the Nawab of Arcot and he reported to the English ministry that the Nawab of Arcot was not receiving proper treatment from the Madras Council. Sir John Lindsay was then sent by the ministry with the following secret commission. " As there is a great reason to fear that the Nawab of Arcot has been treated in a manner by no means correspondent to the friendly

repress it while Mahomet Ali (Muhammad Ali) had purposes to gain and either money or promises to bestow."[53]

Thus the Madras Government very often committed itself to policies leading to serious entanglements. In 1773 the Nawab forcibly annexed the kingdom of Tanjore and about the same time the two great southern poligars of Ramnad and Sivaganga were reduced by English help. This, of course, caused much stir in England and Lord Pigot was appointed as the Governor with an order to restore Tanjore to its raja. But Pigot's attempts to execute the order and to remove corruptions among the officers at Madras gave birth to a conspiracy against him by his subordinates, who placed him in confinement where he died the following year. The next governor Sir Thomas Rumbold " displayed great corruption in his administration " and he provoked the resentment of the Nizam at such a critical time by taking possession of the district of Guntur from Basalat Jung, brother of Nizam Ali, to whom it had been granted for life after the treaty of 1768, though Hastings and the Supreme Government in Calcutta strongly disapproved of his policy.[54] He also proposed to discontinue the payment of the annual tribute of seven lacs, which the Company had promised to pay the Nizam for holding the Northern Circars according to the treaty of 1768, by his argument that the Nizam had broken the treaty by admitting French troops into his service.

The English attempts at Guntur alienated Hyder Ali as well, who had not been well disposed towards the Company owing to its failure to renew the defensive and offensive alliance which had been concluded in 1769 but never carried out. The capture of the French factory at Mahe in 1779 by

stipulations which His Majesty procured in his favour at the Company's request (in the treaty of Paris) . . . It is therefore His Majesty's pleasure that you make the strictest enquiry into their conduct towards the Nawab of Arcot since the last peace in order to judge how far it has coincided with His Majesty's friendly declarations."—(Quoted in *Cambridge History of British India*, Vol. V, p. 278.)

53 Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 247.

54 *Calcutta Review*, November-December, 1931.

the English, in defiance of Hyder's protests that it was under his protection, greatly intensified his feelings, and he now sought revenge against the Compnay. Thus the Nizam, Hyder and the Maratha chieftains (with the exception of the Gaikwar of Baroda) entered into a grand confederacy against the English. As Hastings said, there was a " war either actual or impending in every quarter and with every power in Hindustan."[55] It should be noted that outside India also the English had to face a coalition of France, Spain, Holland and the revolted American Colonies, and the French were preparing themselves for another attempt to regain their old position in India by " fishing in the troubled Deccan waters." Munitions of war were sent to Hyder from the French base at the island of Bourbon. The plan of the confederacy was that the Marathas should advance through Berar and Central India to the North Indian plains,[56] while the Nizam would subjugate the Northern Circars, and Hyder Ali should conquer Madras and the territories around it.

So in July 1780 Hyder with an army of about 83,000 men and 100 guns suddenly swooped down upon the plains of the Carnatic through Baramahals, and the Changama Pass, " like an avalanche, carrying destruction with him."[57] The Madras Government sent Colonel Baillie and Sir Hector Munro, the victor of Buxar, to prevent the advance of Hyder Ali's troops but Tippu, son of Hyder, prevented the junction of these two parties and Baillie was compelled to give way, after a gallant resistance, near Conjeeveram. Munro was seized with panic, and retreated hurriedly to Chingleput, and then to Madras. In October 1780, Hyder Ali took possession of Arcot, and the Company found itself placed in a critical situation. " The

55 In 1778, France having joined the revolted American colonies, England declared war against her. The English in India therefore seized the French settlements in India.

56 Probably the objective was Oudh, the pivot of Hastings' foreign policy and finally Bihar and Bengal, excluded from Maratha raids by the treaty of Surat, 1775.

57 Bowring, p. 88.

fortunes of the English in India," writes Sir Alfred Lyall, " had fallen to their lowest water mark."

The material loss of the Company at this disastrous defeat was considerable[58] but the " loss of morale " was greater. It became difficult for Madras Presidency to carry on the war without speedy help from Bengal, where the news of the disaster had reached on the 23rd September. Hastings sent the sexagenarian Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran of Wandiwash, who was now the Commander-in-Chief in India and a member of the Supreme Council, " to stand forth and vindicate in his own person the rights and honour of the British arms."[59] Mr. Whitehall, the Governor of Madras, was suspended and Mr. Smith, the senior member of the Council, succeeded him. By skilful diplomacy Hastings succeeded in detaching the Raja of Berar and Madhaji Sindhia and the Nizam also, by return of Guntur, from the confederacy against the Company. But Hyder did not give way to despair at this desertion of his Indian allies, and remained firm as before.[60]

Sir Eyre Coote, after relieving Wandiwash, Permacoil and Cuddalore, defeated Hyder at Porto Novo in 1781. Hyder gave up his designs on the southern provinces ; Tippu raised the siege of Wandiwash, and both of them went away with the whole of their army to the neighbourhood of Arcot. Coote next joined Colonel Pearse, who with the Bengal brigade under him, had reached Pulicat, about forty miles from Madras, whither Tippu had been sent by Hyder to intercept his advance. The combined forces of Coote and Pearse fought an indecisive battle with Hyder at Polilur in the month of August. In the next month, however, Sir Eyre Coote defeated Hyder at Solingar. The English captured Negapatam in November 1781, and Tricomali, the finest harbour in Ceylon, in January 1782, from the Dutch, who had joined the European

58 About 700 Europeans were killed. According to the French authorities 2,000 English were taken prisoners with Baillie, and 5,000 sepoys were killed together with those 700 Europeans.—(Bowring, p. 92.)

59 Forrest, Vol. I, p. 253.

60 Bowring, p. 101.

war against the English. But after this their progress was stopped for some time. Colonel Braithwaite, who had been protecting Tanjore after the capture of Negapatam, was surrounded by Tippu's troops, and had to surrender after a desperate resistance for twenty-eight hours. A French fleet under the command of Admiral Suffrein arrived at Madras early in 1782, and in February, Du Chemin landed with 2,000 men under his command. Several indecisive actions followed between the French and the English fleets, and the French captured Cuddalore as well as Tricomali from the English. The French, however, did not hazard any general action, as they had strict orders not to do so till the arrival of Bussy. So Hyder and the French were not ready to engage the English immediately, but they took up strong positions near Kellinoor. Towards the end of May 1782, Coote proceeded to capture Arni, which "from its central position was the chief depôt which Hyder still held below the Ghats for storing his supplies and ammunition;"[61] but Tippu rapidly advanced with a strong reinforcement, and a combined attack by him and M. Lally on 2nd June, 1782, frustrated Coote's design of surprising the garrison at Arni. The Bombay Government had also sent a force under Colonel Humberstone to invade the Malabar, but it had to fall back before Tippu's advance, who had been sent by Hyder to oppose the English in that quarter also.

Hostilities ceased for a time owing to the approach of monsoon. The English went back to Madras, the French retreated to Cuddalore and Hyder encamped near Arcot. But a fatal attack of cancer took him away from the midst of his ambitious wars on December 7, 1782.[62] Coote had returned to Bengal leaving the command of the Company's troops at Madras in the hands of General Stuart, and he too died on the 26th of April, 1783.

61 Bowring, p. 102.

62 For discussions about the date of Hyder's death, *vide Ibid.*, p. 105.

But the death of Hyder or Coote did not put an end to the war. Tippu, as warlike and ambitious as his father, took up the contest against the English. He defeated Brigadier Mathews, who had been sent by the Bombay Government to attack Mangalore and the province of Bednore, and captured him with most of his men. Tippu was at this time deprived of the French alliance, as the French and the English had concluded a peace in Europe, the news of which arrived in India on the 23rd June, 1783. Colonel Fullerton now attacked the Southern possessions of Mysore, captured Palghat and occupied Coimbatore in November 1783, and was advancing towards Tippu's capital Seringapatam, when he was recalled by the Madras authorities, who had opened negotiations for a treaty with Tippu. Since his arrival as Governor of Madras in 1781, Macartney was anxious to make peace with the Mysore State, for which he had now sent commissioners to Tippu. Thus a treaty, known as that of Mangalore, was concluded on the 7th March, 1784, on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests and release of all prisoners. The terms of the treaty were not very pleasing to Hastings, but he could not amend these in any way.[63]

Thus we have seen that for eight years (1775—1783) the English had to carry on a precarious existence in the face of various odds and impediments. As England was then engaged in a war with her American Colonies, helped by her old enemeis France and Spain, no help could be expected from home. The long wars in Western and Southern India therefore adversely affected the Company's financial resources, and Hastings had to take recourse to a " rather harsh and discreditable policy " for raising money.

[63] Forrest, Vol. I, pp. 288-289. Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, p. 46. Minds irritated with defeat created a ' host of legends ' about the treaty. Tippu was said to have treated the deputies " with unparalleled indignity, erecting gallows by their encampment and keeping them in such a state of panic that they contemplated flight to the English ships lying off the town." But the facts seem to have been, as Prof. Dodwell has noted, " that the commissioners of their own accord pitched their tents near a gallows which had been set up before the surrender of Mangalore for the execution of one of Tippu's officers who

This need for funds led him to make exorbitant demands on Chait Sinh, the Raja of Benares, who had been originally a feudatory of the Nawab of Oudh but had accepted the overlordship of the Company by the treaty of 1775, promising to pay thereby an annual tribute of 22½ lacs to the Company. In 1778, on the outbreak of hostilities with the French, Hastings with the approval of his Council, demanded from the Raja of Benares, five lacs as a war contribution, over and above the ordinary tribute of 22½ lacs. The Raja complied with the demand, but it was repeated in the two succeeding years. Chait Sing made some protests, and procrastinated for some time, but after a little delay paid the money. In 1780 he was asked to provide the Company with 2,000 cavalry, reduced, on his protests, to 1,000. He collected 500 cavalry and 500 infantry, and wrote to Hastings that they were ready for his service. But Hastings gave no reply, as he had made up his mind to exact a fine of fifty lacs from him. "I was resolved," said Hastings, "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distress In a word I had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for his past delinquency." To inflict this penalty, Hastings personally proceeded towards Benares. Chait Sing met him personally at Baksar, where he solicited and urged for his pardon, but Hastings paid no heed and after dismissing him proceeded to Benares where he put him under arrest. The Raja submitted patiently, but his troops, unable to bear this humiliation of their master in his own capital, rose to arms and massacred a number of British sepoys with their officers. Hastings had to fly away for safety to Chunar[64] but, gathering all the available forces round him, he soon defeated the insurgents. Chait Sing pleaded his innocence in the

had entered into communication with the English garrison; and that, while the prisoners were not well treated, there were no grounds for believing that any of them were deliberately murdered."

64 This event is the origin of the doggerel still sung in European households by their menials:

"Ghore par howdah hathi par jin, Jaldi bhag gaya Warren Hastings (Baran Hastin)."

matter, but was driven out of the country and fled to Gwalior. His territories were sequestrated and (the remnants?) were conferred on his nephew, who had to pay a tribute of forty lacs instead of 22½ lacs to the Company.

Hastings' behaviour towards Chait Sing is a great blot on his administration and cannot be defended from any point of view. It is immaterial to dicuss in this connection the question whether Chait Sing was a Raja (ruling prince) or a mere Zamindar (hereditary revenue-collector). Hastings' defenders were wrong in regarding him as a mere Zamindar and thus trying to justify the exaction. Even if he were a mere Zamindar, as they regarded him to have been, " in that case the exaction ought to have taken the form of a general universal tax levied on all Zamindars under the Company's rule ; but it was directed only against Chait Sing."[65] It should be noted that the Company had definitely engaged on July 5, 1775, that while he paid his normal tribute " no demand shall be made upon him by the Hon'ble Company, of any kind, or on any pretence whatsoever, nor shall any person be allowed to interfere with his authority, or to disturb the peace of his country." Hastings wrongly tried to defend himself by holding that " all former sanads had become null and void " by a later grant of 1776. The fact is that Chait Sing objected to the wording of this later grant and it was accordingly altered. The agreement of 1775 was therefore still binding on both the Raja as well as the Company. The conduct of the Raja was not certainly " contumacious and refractory and deserving of punishing," as Forrest says.[66] He had not manifested any signs of rebellion against the Company until his troops themselves broke into insurrection ; on the contrary he steadily maintained a submissive and dependent attitude. Sir Alfred Lyall rightly remarks that " Hastings must bear the blame of having provoked the insurrection at Benares . . . his conduct was at least impolitic and imprudent"[67] Impartial history will say that

65 *Cambridge History*, p. 297.
66 State Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 235.
67 *Warren Hastings*, by Lyall, pp. 126-27.

Hastings' treatment of the Raja was "merciless and vindictive."[68]

Some modern writers like Forrest and Dr. V. A. Smith try to defend Hastings' demands on the ground of expediency in consideration of the "grave necessities of the situation." But "grave necessities" were not really served. The Raja fled with a part of his wealth and the remaining 23 lacs of rupees were plundered by the troops and divided amongst themselves. The Company simply "incurred the expense of the military operations that ensued." Thus morally unjust, legally indefensible, Hastings' conduct in this connection was also "unwarrantable and impolitic"[69] from the point of view of utility.

Pressing needs for money to continue the wars against the Marathas and Tippu remained, and Hastings again turned his attention towards Oudh. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Asaf-ud-dowla, owed a heavy debt to the Company (owing to failure in paying for the East India Company's troops maintained for the defence of Oudh against the Marathas and for expansion of Oudh into Rohilkhand) but he was not in a position to clear it off. His grandmother and his mother, the Dowager Begums, possessed extensive jagirs and immense wealth, which they had inherited from the late Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla. Asaf-ud-dowla maintained that he had been unjustly deprived of these and always asserted his claims to them. In 1775, on the intercession of the British Resident in Oudh, the widow of the late Nawab paid him £300,000 in addition to £260,000 which had been already given to him, on the Council in Calcutta giving a guarantee, in spite of Hastings' dissent, that he should not make any further demands in future. But in 1781 the Resident proposed that he might be allowed to take possession of the estates and

68 "Some reciprocal distrust had been growing up between him and Hastings, whom he had offended by sending a messenger prematurely to congratulate Clavering on the news of his temporary accession to the Governor-Generalship, and by other indications that he was calculating on a change in that office."—(*Ibid.*, p. 121.)

69 For details, *vide* ante.

treasure of the Begums in order to pay off his debt to the Company. Hastings, who was badly in need of money, did not care for the guarantee which the Council had given to the Begums, but gave his consent to the proposal. Not only this, but when the Nawab afterwards hesitated to proceed against the "uncommonly violent temper of his female relations," Hastings goaded him on. He wrote to Mr. Middleton (the Resident) in December 1781: "you must not allow any negotiations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nawab."[70] The Nawab Wazir was supported by English troops, who proceeded to Fyzabad, inflicted severe punishments on the eunuchs of the Begums and compelled them to give up their wealth.

Like the Benares affair, Hastings' treatment of the Begums was also the result of his desire to replenish the exhausted treasury of the Company. "The employment of personal severities," writes Sir Alfred Lyall, "under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking . . . to cancel the guarantee and leave the Nawab to deal with the recalcitrant princesses was unjustifiable; to push him on and actively assist in measures of coercion against women anl eunuchs was conduct, unworthy and indefensible."[71] In the face of some important facts, it is difficult to agree with Mr. Forrest that "for what took place Hastings at Calcutta cannot be held responsible. He ordered the Resident not to permit any negotiation or forbearance but there is a wide gulf between legitimate severity and cruelty."[72] But in fact Hastings was the 'moving spirit' throughout this ignoble transaction. The vacillating Nawab Wazir was egged on by Hastings, who also disapproved the use of gentler methods as suggested by two successive Residents—Mr. Middleton and Mr. Bistow. The Nawab Wazir was a "reluctant party throughout" and

70 Forrest, Vol. III, p. 950.

71 *Warren Hastings*, pp. 136-37.

72 Vol. I, p. 251.

Hastings wanted to give a severe rebuke to his minister for his having assumed " a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment ; in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority."[73] To justify Hastings' violation of the Company's guarantee on the ground that the Begums had forfeited all claims to it for their complicity with Chait Sing is nothing but to support an error in history. The evidences for this are conflicting and are based on wrong affidavits taken by Sir Elijah Impey, Colonel Hannay, Wheeler and others. Probably the " charge of rebellion was *ex post facto*, made when it was found necessary to present a justification for the whole business." If it were a fact that the Begums were meditating a rebellion against the English, Hastings could very well produce evidence and could demand proofs of innocence from them. Making every allowance for Hastings' difficulties, impartial history will record that " it was a sordid, shabby and sorry business."

Hastings spent the next eight months at Benares for reconstructing the internal affairs and finances of Benares and Oudh, which had suffered much from famine and misgovernment. After returning to Calcutta he received the news of the Pitt's India Act of 1784, resigned his office and left India in February 1785.

Hastings reached England in June 1785 and was at first cordially received. But after two years he was accused of several charges, *viz.*, violation of treaties with the Nawab of Oudh, oppression on the Raja of Benares and the Begums of Oudh, fraudulent dealings in contracts, acceptance of bribes and presents, etc., and was formally impeached by the House of Commons, by Burke, Sheridan and Fox. The trial began on February 13, 1788, and dragged on till April 23, 1795, when Hastings was honourably acquitted of all the charges. He spent his last years in complete retirement (and comparative poverty) and died in 1818.

73 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 982.

In spite of various defects in his policies, Hastings certainly occupies an important place among the makers of the British Empire in India. Himself of a scholarly bent he encouraged learning and scholarship. His judicial reforms were beneficial. But his revenue reforms did not prove successful ; " in fact his influence on the actual conditions of the revenue was unfortunate." He had not been able to effect that " complete reformation of the administration " which was the declared aim of his governor-generalship. As Sir John Malcolm writes : " His (Hastings') most strenuous advocates, while they defend his personal integrity, are forced to acknowledge, that the whole system of the government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses." Hastings had not in him the farsightedness of Clive or that daring political genius which Wellesley showed. But he had indefatigable industry and great courage, which enabled him to save the British power in India, when it was attacked on land by the Marathas, the Nizam and Hyder Ali, and on sea by the French under Admiral de Suffrein. As for the unscrupulousness of some of his actions, students of history will note that hardly ever was a dominion built up but by some measure of it, so that some would praise it and others blame it. Besides, his political morals were not inferior to what generally prevailed in India or the world in that age.

PART III

Text-Book of Modern Indian History

CHAPTER I

INTERNAL CONDITION OF INDIA UNDER THE EARLIER AND LATER MUGHALS

SECTION I

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION: CIVIL AND MILITARY

I

OUR sources for the study of Mughal administration are few and scattered. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* is, no doubt, an important source, but it has got certain defects and the author " does not give us much help in drawing a correct and detailed picture of the administrative machinery, though in the statistical portion he is detailed and accurate."[1] *Dastur-ul-Amals* or official handbooks, composed in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, supply important facts, figures and lists in details, but the rarity and defective nature of the manuscripts of these manuals, make access to them difficult and their reading conjectural. A secondary source of information is an old Persian manuscript discovered by Sir J. N. Sarkar in a Kayastha family of the Patna district, which he calls the " Manual of the Duties of Officers " and which gives minute information about official routine. Some additional information can also be gleaned from Court-Annals like the *Akbar-namah* of the sixteenth century and *Bahadur Shah-namah* of 1709, and the contemporary accounts of foreigners like Roe, Hawkins, Bernier and others.

1 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, (1920 edition), p. 20.

The Mughal system of administration was not purely Indian in origin. The Turkish conquerors brought with them to India the administrative system of the Abbasid Khalifs of Iraq and the Fatimid Khalifs of Egypt, but it was mixed up with Indian practices and customs. The Mughal administration, therefore, "presented a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements; or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic System in Indian setting."[2] The elaborate organisation of the state led to the multiplication of official correspondence and the abundance of written records. By its nature, the Mughal administrative system "was a military rule and therefore necessarily a centralised despotism,"[3] but it was not the arbitrary oriental despotism of romance writers and was not based wholly on brute force.[4] There was partial acquiescence of the people because the Mughal government was more tolerant and beneficent, at least at first, than the Turkish rule of the preceding three centuries. With certain exceptions, it allowed the people freedom of social life and respected the time-honoured autonomy of the villages.[5] Nevertheless, the functions of the Mughal government were manifold.

The King was the head of the administration and in theory his power was unlimited. As a Muhammadan, the Mughal Emperor was required to obey the scripture and authentic traditions, but a really strong king could defy Quranic law if he liked; the only remedies lying in the hands of the *ulemas* were rebellion or assassination which were, however, dangerous cousres. The Emperor was himself the head of the church and the state alike. He had no cabinet in the modern sense of the term.

"The *Wazir* or *Diwan* was the highest person below the Emperor, but the other officers were in no sense his colleagues. They were admittedly inferior to him and deserved rather to be called secretaries than ministers, because nearly all their

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4 Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, pp. 88—91.

5 *Ibid.*

work was liable to revision by the *wazir*, and royal orders were often transmitted to them through him."[6] But not even the most powerful despotism can manage the multitudinous problems of a large empire without consultations with at least a select body of councillors, or a clique. Thus in practice the Mughal Emperor very often referred his policy and action to the principal officers and held private consultations (*diwan-i-khas*) with them.

The principal departments of the Mughal Government were :

(1) The Exchequer (under the *Diwan*) ;

(2) The Imperial Household (under the *Khan-i-Saman*) ;

(3) The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the *Mir Bakhshi*) ;

(4) The Judiciary (under the *Chief Qazi*) ;

(5) Religious Endowments and Charities (under the *Chief Sadr* or *Sadr Sudur*) ;

(6) Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasib*) ; somewhat inferior to these were :

(7) The Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Daroga-i-Top-khana*) ;

(8) Intelligence (under the *Darogha* of *Dak Chowki*) ;

(9) The Mint (under its own *Darogha*).

The *Diwan* was the highest officer of the revenue department and he decided all questions relating to the assessment or collection of revenue. He received all revenue papers, returns and despatches from different parts of the empire, and all orders for payments, except for petty sums previously allotted, were passed by him. Like every other high officer in the Mughal government, he held a military rank in the army and often actually commanded armies, but he could not remain at a distance for a long time because of the necessity of his constant presence near the emperor.

6 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 13.

The functions of the *Bakhshi* or the Paymaster were varied. As all the civil officers of the Mughal government held military ranks in the army, and thus 'theoretically belonged to the military department,' the pay bills of all the officers had to be scrutinised and passed by the paymaster. While preparing for a battle, he assigned posts to the commanders in the van, centre, wings or rear and presented the muster rolls of the army before the emperor, who was theoretically the Commander-in-Chief. He also kept registers containing the lists of *mansabdars* in proper form and looked after the recruitment of soldiers.

The *Khan-i-Saman* or the Lord High Steward was the head of the Emperor's household, and accompanied him in his journeys and campaigns. He controlled the emperor's personal servants and looked after his daily expenditure, food, stores, tents, etc. Manucci notes that "he had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things." Thus it was an important office and could be held only by trustworthy and influential men.

The *Muhtasibs* or Censors of Public Morals looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's Commands, put down the practices condemned in the *Shari'at*, and saw that the rules of morality were generally observed.

Besides these there were many other officers in charge of several other departments. Some of these were:

(1) The *Mir Mal* (The Lord Privy Seal);

(2) The *Mustaufi* (The Auditor-General);

(3) The *Awarjah Navis* (The Superintendent of Daily Expenditure at the Court);

(4) The *Nazir-i-Buyutat* (The Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop);

(5) The *Mushrif* (The Revenue Secretary);

(6) The *Mir Bahri* (The Lord of the Admiralty);

(7) The *Mir Bars* (The Superintendent of Forests);

(8) The *Qur Begi* (The Lord Standard Bearer);

(9) The *Akht Begi* (The Superintendent of the Stud) ;

(10) The *Khwan Salar* (The Superintendent of the Royal Kitchen) ;

(11) (*a*) The *Waqa-i-Navis*
(*b*) The *Sawanih-Nigar*
(*c*) The *Khufia-Navis*
(*d*) The *Harkara*
} News-reporters ;

(12) The *Mir Arz* (in charge of petitions presented to the Emperor) ;

(13) The *Mir Manzil* (The Quarter-Master-General) ;

(14) The *Mir Tozak* (The Master of Ceremonies).

The Mughal Emperor, as " the Khalif of the Age," was the fountain of all justice, and, following the immemorial Eastern tradition, he himself tried cases in open court on a fixed day. He was ' the highest court of appeal and sometimes acted as the court of first instance too.' The *Mir Arz* had to be present at the palace continuously ; once in the time of Akbar seven *Mir Arzes* were appointed, with Abdur Rahim as the Head *Mir Arz*, owing to the pressure of work.

The emperors were lovers of justice. " If I were guilty of an unjust act," said Akbar, " I would rise in judgment against myself." Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that " as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful . . . In inflicting punishment he is deliberate, and after he has made over the guilty person to the hands of the judge and court to suffer either the extreme penalty or the mutilation of some limb, he requires that he should be three times reminded by messages before the sentence is carried out." Access to the emperor's court through all kinds of obstructions from the porters and underlings, courtiers and other middlemen, was not very easy. However, the right of direct petitioning by subjects which was won in England after a hard fight in the Bill of Rights (1689), was granted by some of the Mughal Emperors out of their own free will. The most notable example of this was Jahangir's golden chain, hung from the palace-balcony to the

ground outside the Agra fort, to enable the people to tie their petitions which might be drawn up to the emperor. Aurangzeb, Muhammad Shah and some other later Mughals held more or less the same attitude, though circumstances made them unable to translate it into practice. The emperors emphasised speedy justice and punishment of defaulting officers, and there was nothing like an Administrative Law to set the officials on a higher footing than the common people.

The *Sadr-i-Sudur* or the Chief Sadr looked into the cases arising out of the ' endowments of land made by the emperor or princes for the support of pious men, scholars and monks.' He was also the emperor's almoner and disbursed the sums reserved by him for charitable purposes. Below him there was a *Sadr* in each province.

The *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was the highest judicial officer of the kingdom and he was responsible for the proper and efficient administration of justice. There was " no system, no organisation of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area to be served by them."[7] Cases were mainly tried and disposed of by (1) the Qazi, (2) the Mufti, and (3) the Mir Adl. The *Mufti*, who was " urged to spend his days and nights in reading books on jurisprudence and the reports of cases from which one can learn precedents," expounded the law ; the *Qazi* made investigations into and tried cases ; and the *Mir Adl* drew up and pronounced the judgment.

The *Qazis* tried civil and criminal cases of Hindus as well as Muslims. While deciding cases in which the parties were Hindus they had to consult the customs and usages of the community. They were expected to be " just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court-house and the seat of Government, not to accept presents from the people where they served nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody, and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory."[8] But in practice they

7 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 9.

8 Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 18.

misused their powers, and " the Qazi's department became a byword and reproach in Mughal times." As there were no primary courts below the courts of the *Qazis,* the " smaller towns and all the villages which had no *Qazi* of their own seemed to have formed a sort of no-man's land as regards justice," and " men had, therefore, to settle their differences locally, by appeal to the caste courts or *panchayets,* the arbitration of an impartial umpire (*salis*), or by a resort to force."[9]

There was nothing like legislation in the modern sense of the term, or a written code of law making for quick decisions or execution of judgment. The twelve ordinances of Jahangir, and the *Fatawah-i-Alamgiri,*[10] a law digest compiled by a school of theologians under Aurangzeb's supervision at a cost of about two lakhs, were the only notable exceptions. The law administered by the judges was chiefly the sacred law, viz., (*a*) Quranic injunctions, (*b*) *Sumas* or *Hadis* or sayings of the Prophet second in importance only to the *Quran,* (*c*) *Fatwas* or previous interpretations of the Holy Law by eminent jurists, (*d*) digests prepared from time to time by the learned doctors of the four schools of Islamic law, viz., the *Hanafi,* the *Malaki,* the *Shafi,* and the *Hanbali.* In criminal cases no distinctions were made on religious grounds, but in civil cases, where the parties were Hindus, their traditional rights and customs were paid due regard to. The secular laws sometimes administered by the judges were formulated and issued as *Kanuns* or ordinances. Customary laws in general were not disregarded, and the judges sometimes applied the principles of equity. They possessed high discretionary powers and were held in high esteem by the people. But the emperor's adjudications were expressly free, with the sole proviso that they did not run counter to the canon laws.

The courts often inflicted severe punishments ; amputation, mutilation and whipping needed no reference, but no capital punishment could be inflicted without the emperor's consent. The prisoners, subjected to long-term imprisonment,

9 *Ibid.,* p. 9.

10 *Vide* Elliot, Vol. VI.

were confined in forts, and there was nothing like a regular jail system. Barbarous punishments were inflicted in cases of heinous crimes, but sometimes fines were imposed in lieu.

There was no hereditary nobility in Mughal India ; it was purely official in character. The property or titles did not descend from father to son ; and the property of a nobleman was escheated to the state on his death. Bernier writes : " The King being the heir of all their possessions no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the Umrah's death is soon extinguished, and the sons or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to the beggary and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family, and if the Umrah's life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour."[11] Neither the earlier Jagirdari system nor the later Zamindari system was prevalent, the former being discontinued by the Great Mughals and the latter developing only during decadence of the government. The protected Hindu chiefs in Rajputana in the hills and in out-of-way tracts were the only hereditary magnates in the empire.

It was not an easy matter for the Mughal Government to make its authority effectively felt in the provinces. Situated at a distance from the capital, the provincial governors were disposed to set up their own independent authority and the difficulty of communications helped the growth of centrifugal forces. But " Mughal statesmen, like the Romans, solved the problem by dividing the substance and reducing the duration of authority."[12] After abolishing the system of jagirs, Akbar parcelled out the empire into fifteen provinces[13] ; in Jahangir's time it was divided into seventeen viceroyalties ; Shahjahan's empire contained twenty-two subahs yielding an

11 *Travels,* pp. 211-212.

12 *Ibid.,* p. 102.

13 (1) Agra, (2) Allahabad, (3) Oudh, (4) Delhi, (5) Lahore, (6) Multan, (7) Kabul, (8) Ajmer, (9) Bengal, (10) Bihar, (11) Ahmadabad, (12) Malwa, (13) Berar, (14) Khandesh, (15) Ahmadnagar.

income of twenty-two crores of rupees[14]; in the time of Aurangzeb the provinces were twenty-one in number.

"The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government."[15] Over each Subah there was the Governor (styled *Sipah-salar*, Commander-in-Chief, or *Sahib-i-Subah*, Lord of the Province, or simply *Subahdar*, and officially called the *Nazim*), assisted by the *Diwan*, the *Bakhshi*, the *Faujdar*, the *Kotwal*, the *Qazi*, the *Sadr*, the *Amil*, the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar* or *Khizandar*, the *Waqa-i-Navis* and other officers of the revenue department, like the *Qanungo* and *Patwari*. The *Subahs* were further divided into *Sarkars* and *Parganas*, the former being fiscal and the latter administrative units. The administration was centred in the provincial capital, and the Mughals, being "essentially an urban people in India," neglected the villages, and "village life was dreaded by them as a punishment."[16] The Subahdar kept touch with the villages through the *Faujdars* and the officers of the revenue department and by personal tours through them, but the state declined all socialistic functions, and so far as administrative activities were concerned the villages were left free, "so long as there was no violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality."[17]

The Subahdar was the head of the provincial administration and he combined civil and military authority. He was regarded as the emperor's vicegerent in the Subah and derived his authority from him. He could hold his own court but could not show himself at the *jharoka*, or declare war or conclude peace without the emperor's permission. He received appeals from the decisions of the Qazis and Mir Adls but could

14 (1) Delhi, (2) Akbarabad, (3) Lahore, (4) Ajmer, (5) Daulatabad, (6) Allahabad, (7) Berar, (8) Malwa, (9) Khandesh, (10) Ahmadabad, (11) Oudh, (12) Bihar, (13) Multan, (14) Telingana, (15) Orissa, (16) Baglana, (17) Thatta, (18) Kabul, (19) Balkh, (20) Qandhar, (21) Badakhshan, (22) Kashmir.

15 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 40.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

not inflict capital punishment without the emperor's permission. As supreme military officer in the province, he commanded the provincial forces. He had to look after the maintenance of peace and order within his jurisdiction and kept himself informed of all affairs in the country through a large number of spies. Though the short tenure (two or three years only) of office and the practice of transfer from one province to another offered some checks on the governor's power, yet every one of them "tried to play the Padishah in his own court." Both Peter Mundy[18] and Bernier speak of the governors in Shahjahan's time as cruel and rapacious tyrants. But we have it from Manucci that the emperor punished the oppressive governors, and under Aurangzeb the imperial control over them became more strict, while the administration as a whole became lax. It was during the period of disorder following his death that the important governors made themselves independent by way of reaction from excessive tutelage, and tried to rule like benevolent despots (e.g., Allahvardi in Bengal).

The Diwan, who was the next important officer in the province, was the rival of the Subahdar. It was the duty of each "to keep a strict watch over the other" so that neither of them might become too powerful.[19] Formerly the governors selected the Diwans but from 1579 (with reorganization of revenue administration) they began to be selected by the imperial Diwan and acted directly under his orders. They were required to improve the cultivation, and they had the control over the provincial purse so that no bills could be cashed without their signature. They were "specially urged to appoint as collectors (*Kroris* and *Tahsildars*) practical men who were likely to induce the ryots to pay up the government dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement."[20] Cases where the Subahdar

18 *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 160.

19 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 5, and *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 221—224.

20 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 44.

and the Diwan were of different opinions were referred to the emperor.

The Faujdars were important subordinates and assistants of the Subahdars and they were placed in charge of important and comparatively more advanced subdivisions of a province.[21] Their appointments or dismissals rested with the Subahdars. As commanders of the provincial troops, they helped the Subahdars in maintaining peace and order, and in the discharge of their executive functions. They were to chastise the refractory zamindars and to offer military aid to the *amils* in collecting revenues from defaulting villages, on a written requisition for such aids. " In short, the faujdar, as his name suggests, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber-gangs, take cognisance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities, or the criminal judge, or the censor."[22]

The Kotwal was the head of the city-police and he was entrusted with the task of maintaining public order and decency within the cities. His functions have been enumerated at length in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[23] the most important of which are : (1) to detect thieves, (2) to regulate prices and to check weights and measures, (3) to keep watch at night and patrol the city, (4) to keep up registers of houses and frequented roads, and of citizens and to watch the movements of strangers, (5) to employ spies from among the vagabonds, to know everything about the affairs of the neighbouring villages, and to be acquainted with the income and expenditure of the various classes of people, (6) to prepare a list and to take charge of the property of the deceased or missing persons who left no heirs, (7) to prevent the slaughter of oxen, buffa-

21 In the Subah of Bihar there were faujdars at Palamau, Darbhanga, and Hajipur during the seventeenth century and in Bengal at Hugli, Jessore, Gauhati, Sylhet, Midnapur, and probably also Ghora Ghat.

22 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 47.

23 Jarret, Vol. II, pp. 41—43.

loes, horses or camels, and (8) to prevent the burning of women against their will, and circumcision below the age of twelve.[24]

But the list of the Kotwal's duties in the *Ain* is so long that Sir J. N. Sarkar attaches no value to this source and regards the passage " as only the ideal for a Kotwal and not to represent the actual state of things."[25] Manucci also gives an exhaustive and valuable account of the Kotwal's work from personal observation.[26] Comparing the various accounts about the Kotwal's duties, it may be concluded that he was to look after the peace and security of the people in the cities and to check and control every element of disorder, such as thieves, pick-pockets, professional women, dancing girls, liquor-sellers and vendors of intoxicants. He was to keep very careful watch over the prisoners so that none might escape ; and he was to trace and recover stolen goods. " He should check the number of persons in the prison and ascertain (their) explanation (*Kaifiat*) of the charges against them. Then he should report to his official superior the cases of those prisoners whom he considers innocent and secure their liberation. In the case of the guilty persons who could pay, he should take orders for exacting suitable fines from them and then releasing them. In the case of penniless prisoners, the Kotwal should report and take action as commanded. A statement of the cases of those deserving to be kept in prison should be sent to the officers of Canon Law, and the orders passed by the latter over their signatures should be carried out by the Kotwal. In the case of those deserving death, the Kotwal should, through proper officers freely state their cases to the judge (in writing) on the day of trial, receive the Qazi's signed sentence of death and execute the sentence."[27]

24 We may compare this with an almost similar account of the Kotwal's duties, as given in Ramprasad's Vidyāsundar, a Bengali work of the Mid-Eighteenth Century. Items (7) and (8) in the list obviously indicate Akbar's reforms.

25 *Mughal Administration*, p. 48.

26 *Storia de Mogor*, Vol. II, pp. 420-21.

27 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 47.

The provincial *Sadr's* duty was to supervise the *Sayurghals* (rent-free lands granted for religious and charitable purposes) so that these were applied to the right purpose. He was appointed by the Central Government ; having a separate office of his own, he was more independent in his relations with the Subahdar than the Diwan.

The Amil or the revenue-collector had multifarious duties to discharge. He was asked to be rigorous in the matter of realising dues from refractory ryots. He was to determine the quality of the cultivated lands and to reclaim the waste lands. He was to see that the lands were properly measured and the revenues were collected peacefully, no extra amount being demanded from the ryots. The registers kept by the *Karkun,* the *Muqaddam* and the *Patwari* were checked by him. He had to report any untoward affair affecting the condition of agriculture within his jurisdiction, and also to submit monthly reports about the material condition of the people, the *jagirdars,* the market prices, the current rates of tenements, etc. He was warned not to accept presents or exact money from the cultivators during his tours in the country. The duties of the *Bitikchi* were analogous to those of the *Amil.* He served as a check on the *Amil* and was of the same status like him. He prepared abstracts of revenue in every season and sent an annual report to the court. The *Potdar* or *Khizandar* received money from the peasantry, and kept the treasure of the state in safe custody. He issued receipts for payments and kept ledgers to avoid mistakes in accounts.

The Waqa-i-Navis or news-reporters kept the Central Government informed of everything within the provinces. They attended when the provincial governors held their courts and recorded the occurrences on the spot and regularly despatched news-letters to the emperor. They " enjoyed great influence and trust in the reign of Aurangzeb, who used to regard the spies as his eyes and ears." The following advice given to a *Waqa-i-Navis* will give an idea about his duties: " Report the truth, lest the emperor should learn the facts from another source and punish you ! Your work is delicate: both sides have to be served. Deep sagacity and considera-

tion should be employed so that both the Shaikh and the Book may remain in their proper places! In the wards of most of the high officers, forbidden things are done. If you report them truly, the officers will be disgraced. If you do not, you yourself will be undone. Therefore you should tell the lord of the ward, 'In your ward forbidden things are taking place ; stop them.' If he gives a rude reply, you should threaten the Kotwal of the ward by pointing out the misdeed. The lord of the ward will then know of it. Although the evil has not yet been removed from the ward, yet, if any one reports the matter to the emperor, you can easily defend yourself by saying that you have informed the master of the ward and instructed the Kotwal. In every matter write the truth ; but avoid offending the nobles. Write after carefully verifying your statements."[28]

Besides these, there were the revenue officers like the *Karkuns*, the *Qanungos*, and the *Patwaris*. The *parganas* were divided into villages, and in each village there was a *muqaddam* (headman) and a *patwari*, who kept revenue accounts. The *muqaddam's* function was to keep order in the village and to help in the collection of state dues.

Finance is the backbone of an administration and in an agricultural country like India land-revenue has always formed an important source of state income ; it was the most important in the days of the Mughal Empire, though there were other heads of income such as customs, mint, inheritance, escheats, plunder, presents and monopolies.[29] As we have already seen, Sher Shah was the first Muslim ruler who effected important revenue reforms which were calculated to prove beneficial to the state and the people. But his work was undone in the period of confusion following his death, and before Akbar ascended the throne, the lands of the country were divided into two parts—the *Khalsa* or crown lands, and the *Jagir* lands, held by a number of nobles who

[28] Quoted in Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, pp. 50-51.

[29] Moreland, *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 268.

paid a certain amount to the sovereign, provided for certain services, and kept the balance of income to themselves.

But the expansion and consolidation of the empire in the time of Akbar necessitated some reorganisation of the revenue system. Realising that "all undertakings depend upon finance," he thought of financial reforms as soon as he freed himself from the power of Maham Anagha. Some definite efforts towards reform were made in the fifteenth year of his reign (1570-71) by his Diwan, Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who with the help of Todar Mal, "prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue based on estimates framed by the local *Qanungos* and checked by ten superior *Qanungos* at headquarters."[30] But the outbreak of the Uzbeg rebellion prevented the whole scheme being put into operation. Again after the conquest of Gujrat in 1573 Raja Todar Mal effected there a regular survey of the land, and the assessment was made "with reference to the area and quality of the land." In 1575 the *jagirs* were converted into crown-lands and the whole empire as it then existed, with the exceptions of Bengal, Bihar and Gujrat, was divided into 182 *parganas*, the yield of each being one crore a year. Officers appointed to collect these revenues were called *Kroris*.[31] The *Kroris* soon grew corrupt and they are not mentioned by Abul Fazl being perhaps suspended, but "the title of *Krori* was continued in later times irrespective of the amount of revenue to be collected by this officer. It latterly meant simply 'a collector of state dues' and we have a class of *Kroris* of *ganj*, i.e., collectors of markets."[32]

It was in 1582 when Todar Mal was appointed the *Diwan-i-Ashraf* that important revenue-reforms were effected. Hitherto the yearly assessments were made on the basis of production and statistics of current prices, and thus the demand of the state varied from year to year and the revenue-collectors could not go on with their work before the rates

30 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 370.

31 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, p. 57.

32 *Ibid.*

had been settled by the officers. Todar Mal's reforms sought to remove the evils caused by yearly assessments, and their principles have been described by Abul Fazl in the following terms :

" When through the prudent management of the sovereign the empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of excessive exactions, and on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances.

" His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years ; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the fifteenth year of the Divine Era (1570-71) to the twenty-fourth (1579-80 A.D.) an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed, a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the twentieth to the twenty-fourth year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows."[33]

Thus Todar Mal fixed the revenue on the basis of average assessments for ten years from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (1571—81) of the reign.[34] Lands were carefully surveyed ; formerly hempen ropes were used, whose length varied with every change of weather ; but from 1575 these were replaced by a jarib of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was divided into four classes on the basis of " the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation " :

" (1) *Poloj,* land capable of being under continuous cultivation.

33 *Ain,* Vol. II, p. 88.

34 Jarret's translation gives a wrong impression of the principle of the reform (*Ain,* Vol. II, p. 88).

(2) *Parauti,* land kept fallow for a year or two to recover productivity.

(3) *Chachar,* land that was left fallow for three or four years.

(4) *Banjar,* land which remained uncultivated for five years or more.

" Each of the first three classes was subdivided into three grades, and the average produce of the class was calculated from the mean of the three grades in it." Only the area actually cultivated was assessed.[35] The state demand was fixed at one-third of the produce, and the peasants were given the choice of paying either in cash or kind. The officers of the state settled the cash rates and they were different for different crops. " When the season arrived a staff of officers toured in the villages to ascertain the exact area of land under cultivation with a view to prepare the crop-statement. The area of each crop in each holding having been found out, the *Bitikchi* applied the prescribed rates and calculated the revenue due from the cultivator."[36] This was known as the *Zabti* system of assessment and was prevalent in the subahs of Bihar, Allahabad, Multan, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi, Lahore, and in certain parts of Ajmer and Gujrat. The *Ghallabakhsha* system of assessment by crop division, which prevailed in Thatta and certain parts of the subahs of Kabul and Kashmir, and the *Nasaq* system, were not so important.

There was nothing like revenue farming. " Akbar's revenue system was ryotwaree (*raiyatwari*) and the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue."[37] There was a staff

35 The revenue collector was thus instructed: " Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagements take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage." (*Ain,* Vol. II, p. 44.)

36 Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule,* p. 461. The Bitikchi was perhaps a most obnoxious person to the villagers, as the Bengali colloquial term ' *bitikicchi* ' (repulsive, obnoxious) indicates.

37 Quoted in Smith's *Akbar,* p. 375.

of revenue officers ; the *Amil* or the revenue collector was helped by the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar*, the *Qanungo*, the *Patwari* and the *Muqaddams*. They were instructed to be careful in the matter of revenue-collection and " not to extend the hand of demand out of season." Many vexatious cesses were remitted by Akbar's orders and this made the comparatively high assessments bearable. Remissions were sometimes made, and according to a Sikh tradition Akbar remitted the land revenue of the Punjab in the year 1595-96 at the instance of Guru Arjun.

Dr. Smith has thus reviewed the revenue administration of Akbar : " In short, the system was an admirable one. The principles were sound, and the practical instructions to officials all that could be desired. But a person who has been in close touch, as the author has been, with the revenue administration from top to bottom, cannot feel considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept."[38] He believes in the benevolent intentions of Akbar, but in his anxiety to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Indian administration over the Mughal, he opines that " these were commonly defeated by distant governors enjoying practical independence during their term of office." Dr. Smith does not cite definite instances in favour of his statement ; but it is always true that the practice must differ from the ideal even today ; the real point to consider is whether the revenue system, as devised by Todar Mal, proved oppressive to the people, or whether their lot was improved in any way. There is no doubt that the new system made for order and regularity in place of the confusion and inconvenience prevailing in the preceding few centuries of Moslem rule, and it was calculated to promote the interests of the people. Precautions were taken to prevent corruption among the officers, and the guilty officers were punished. There might have been occasional violations of Todar Mal's principles, but these were exceptions under the rules.

[38] *Akbar*, pp. 366-67.

Conflicts between the revenue-collectors and the ryots were of course natural in Mughal India, because of the 'habitual reluctance' on the part of the Indian peasants to pay to the remote 'urban' state from which they derived little benefit in return and about the continuity of which they always entertained doubts. Thus, as Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "The collection of the revenue was always the result of a struggle between the ryot and the *sarkar* and the arrears were seldom if ever cleared. The next logical step in this vicious circle was for the Government collectors to exact from the ryot, under the name of the never-to-be-extinguished arrears, everything except his bare subsistence." The peasants did not, however, suffer eviction for default and it should be noted that the 'custom of payment by the division of the crop,' which depended on the actual harvest of the year, was more advantageous than the modern money rent, whereby the fixed amount is to be paid irrespective of the produce of different years. The lower revenue officials 'were incurably corrupt, while the highest were, on the whole, just and statesmanlike' with very few exceptions.

Besides regular revenues, *abwabs* were sometimes levied on the peasants. These *abwabs* may be classified under the following heads:

(1) Duties on the sale of produce.

(2) Fees on the sale of immovable property.

(3) Perquisites taken by the officers for their own sake and fees or commissions taken for the state.

(4) License-tax for carrying on certain trades.

(5) Forced subscriptions.

(6) Imposts on the Hindus, e.g., tax on bathing in the Ganges and for carrying the bones of dead Hindus for throwing into the Ganges.

A number of *abwabs* were abolished by Aurangzeb (1673), though some of these continued to be levied till even the nineteenth century. The emperors were "for ever issu-

ing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *abwabs,* and to relieve local distress."[39] Even Shahjahan, whose extravagant wars and buildings must have weighed heavily upon his subjects, seems to have been solicitous about their welfare ; his Diwan, Sadullah Khan, was a responsible officer, possessing a high sense of his duties and he is stated to have declared that " a *diwan* who did not do justice to the ryots was a demon sitting with a pen and an inkpot before him." There are certain instances in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb of harsh and extortionate revenue officials and even provincial governors being dismissed on the complaints of the subjects against them reaching the ear of the emperors. Sir J. N. Sarkar quotes the following characteristic tradition on this point :

" One day Shahjahan was looking through the revenue returns of his empire and discovered that in a certain village the revenue for the present year was entered higher by a few thousands than that of the past years. Immediately he ordered the High Diwan Sadullah Khan to be brought to his presence for explaining the difference. Sadullah Khan was then sitting in his treasury with an open bundle of revenue papers before him and his eyes dozing in consequence of his daily and nightly attention to the business of his department. The royal messengers brought him to the emperor in exactly the same condition (and dress). Shahjahan asked him for the cause of the increase in the assessment. After a local enquiry it was found out that the river had receded a little and a new tract of land had risen above water-level causing an addition to the area of the village and the income of the state. On the emperor's asking whether the land in question was *Khalsa* or *Aima,* a further enquiry was made and it was found to adjoin a piece of rent-free grant of land (*aima*). Then Shahjahan cried out in wrath, ' The water over that tract of land has dried in response to the lamentations of the orphans, widows and poor (of the place), it is a divine gift to them, and

39 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* p. 54.

you have dared to appropriate it to the State! If a desire to spare God's creation had not restrained me, I should have ordered the execution of that second satan, the oppressive Faujdar (who has collected revenue from this new land). It will be enough punishment to dismiss him as a warning to others to refrain from such wicked acts of justice. Order the excess collection to be immediately refunded to the peasants entitled to it."[40]

Aurangzeb abolished many *abwabs*, but added certain no less questionable new sources of revenue. The revival of the Jaziya gave a large income to the state. He also issued elaborate regulations for the guidance of his revenue officers. But the whole administrative machinery was getting out of order in Aurangzeb's reign[41] and the peasants became exposed to the caprices and extortions of the local officers in spite of regulations. Such is the defect of autocracy: when the central authority becomes weak or pre-occupied with affairs other than administration the local officers invariably create disorder in the midst of which they thrive.

II

Theoretically, every able-bodied citizen of the empire was a soldier of the imperial army. But for effective practical services Akbar organised the army on the basis of the *mansabdari* system. The *mansab* was a somewhat unique system and it conveyed a complex idea. In a general sense, it meant rank, dignity or service. Irvine, an authority on the history of the Mughal army, writes that its object was "to settle precedence and fix gradation of pay." One who held a *mansab* was bound to render military or other services to the state. Akbar divided the office-holders into thirty-three grades, and the lowest *mansab* was that of 20 men, going up to 5,000. Grades between 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved

40 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

41 The decline in administrative efficiency is noted by contemporaries as early as 1660, and by 1680 it is made one of the main grounds of the Remonstrances issued by Marathas, Rajputs and Prince Akbar.

for the members of the royal family, though later in the reign of Akbar exceptions were made in the case of certain officers like Mansingh, Todar Mal and Qulick Khan. The emperor kept in his own hands the appointment, promotion, suspension and dismissal of the *mansabdars*. " When a new man was appointed to a mansab it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules ; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *mansabdar* often supplied him with horses and equipment." A *mansabdar* did not always begin from the lowest grade. The emperor might appoint anyone to any grade according to his will, and thus one might be appointed to the highest grade without passing through the lower ones. A *mansabdar's* dignity was not hereditary, and his sons had to begin their career anew after the death of their father. Civil officers also, high or low, held mansabs. The *mansabdars* formed the only aristocracy in the land—an official nobility—and this system was the " army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one."[42] Each class received a definite rate of pay out of which the holder was required to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts according to his rank. But it is doubtful if the mansabdars kept the number up to their dignity. Irvine writes that " in spite of musterings and brandings we may safely assume that very few *mansabdars* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen for which they received pay."[43] The whole mansabdari personnel was divided into two classes: (1) those present at Court (*hazir-i-rikab*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'inātian*). There were periodical transfers from one list to the other.

Scholars have found much difficulty in catching the distinction between the *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks. Abul Fazl has not carefully explained, and the contemporary European writers

[42] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 138.

[43] *The Army of Indian Moghuls*, p. 59.

did not make a proper study of the subject ; some like Manucci made it more obscure. Blochmann's view that the *Zat* rank indicated the number of soldiers which a *mansabdar* was expected to maintain and the *Sawar* rank indicated the number actually kept by him is hopelessly confusing. Misled by this Dr. Paul Horn writes that " the *Zat* rank is not only the same as the *Sawar* rank but represents the number of horsemen actually entertained by the officer."[44] Irvine corrects their error and his view has been accepted by Dr. Smith and others. The *Zat* was the personal rank of *mansabdar,* to which was added an additional body of *Sawars* or horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw an extra allowance, and this rank was known as his *Sawar* rank. The grading within each class varied according to addition of *Sawars* or horsemen. ' From 5,000 downwards, an officer was First class (or grade), if his rank in *Zat* and *Sawar* were equal ; Second class, if his *Sawar* was half his *Zat* rank ; Third class, if the *Sawar* was less than half the *Zat,* or there was no *Sawar* at all.'[45] In theory there might be a *Zat* rank without a *Sawar* rank ; but there was no *Sawar* rank without a *Zat* rank.

Besides the *mansabdars* there were other soldiers called the *Dakhilis* or *Ahadis.* The *Dakhilis* were a body of troops placed under the command of the *mansabdars* but paid by the state.[46] The *Ahadis* were gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen, recruited individually by the emperor himself to serve as his bodyguards though occasionally they discharged other miscellaneous functions.[47] There was a separate staff for the *Ahadis* with a *Diwan* and a *Bakhshi,* and one of the great *amirs* was appointed to act as their chief. In the time of Abkar many *Ahadis* drew more than Rs. 500 per month ; Jahangir on his coronation raised their salary by fifty per cent ; but in 1708 about 4,700 extra *Ahadis* were ordered to be enlisted at Rs. 50 per month.

44 *J.I.H.,* 1930, p. 140.

45 Smith, *Akbar,* p. 364.

46 *Ain,* Vol. I, p. 254; Irvine, p. 260.

47 *Ain,* Vol. I, pp. 249-50.

Akbar abolished the system of paying the troops by grants of *jagirs,* turned the *jagirs* into *khalsa* lands, as a *jagir* meant a kind of state within a state. As far as possible, he paid his *mansabdars* by cash salaries.

The *mansabdari* system offered strong temptations to corruption and abuse. " False musters " says Irvine, " were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend to each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers."[48] Precautions were taken against this evil practice: *Chihrahs* or descriptive rolls of *mansabdars* (containing the names of the *mansabdars,* their father's name, their tribe or caste, their place of origin and details of their personal appearances) were kept, the system of branding horses (*Dāgh-o-mahallī* or *dāgh*) was revived and elaborate regulations were made for periodical musters. But these measures could not completely check the evil practice and Dr. Smith writes that " the Bengal revolt of 1580 was partly due to the resentment provoked by his insisting on the resumption of *jagirs,* the preparation of descriptive rolls, and the systematic branding of horses."[49]

Put in modern terms, the Mughal fighting forces were composed of: (1) infantry, (2) artillery, (3) cavalry, (4) the navy. But each of these branches of the defence did not possess equal importance or military efficiency. The infantry was largely composed of men assembled together without regard to rank or file, and as a ' part of the fighting strength of the army it was insignificant.' It included foot-soldiers, transport-bearers, camp-followers, and others totally unacquainted with the mode of fighting. Its principal parts were: (1) (a) *Banduqchi* or matchlock-men arranged in grades, under the supervision of a separate *Bitickchi* or *Daroga,* and (b) the *Shamsherbaz,* who fought with their swords; (2) (a) *Darbans*

48 *The Army of the Indian Moghuls,* p. 45.

49 *Akbar,* p. 366.

or porters, one thousand of whom guarded the palace, and (b) *Khidmatiyas,* who remained alert round the palace ; (3) the *Mewras,* fast runners recruited from Mewat and expert in reconnoitring and detective work ; (4) *Pahalwans* or wrestlers ; (5) *Chelas* or slaves ; (6) *Kahars* or litter-bearers.[50]

Babar, Humayun and Bahadur Shah employed field-artilery in their wars. Besides being imported from outside guns were manufactured within the country ; Abul Fazl writes of Akbar having special guns made for him according to his instructions. " The artillery was much more perfect and numerous in Alamgir's reign," remarks Irvine[51] " than it was under his great-grandfather Akbar," and this was due to increased contact with the European armies and the work of the Portuguese manufacturers and gunners. The Mughals were not themselves very proficient in artillery though they popularised it in North India ; they had to depend on the help of the Rumis, i.e., Muhammadans from Constantinople or Firangis (Franks), mostly Christian sailors from Surat coast being Portuguese half-castes. The head of the artillery department was the *Mir Atash* or *Daroga-i-Topkhana,* who had an assistant called *Mushrif.*

The cavalry formed the most important part of the army. Irvine remarks : " The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only ; the foot-soldier they despised ; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a nightwatchman and guardian over baggage, either in camp or in the time of march." " Under the Moghuls," as Orme justly remarks, " the strain of all war rested upon the numbers

50 '*Chela*' comes from Cheta or Cheḍa (f. Cheṭī or Cheḍī)=slave; from this comes the secondary sense of disciple, cf. ' bāndā '=slave, and disciple. ' Kāhār " comes from ' Kāya-hāra,' ' body-bearers,' it is now the name of a caste. ' Pahalwan ' comes from ' Pahlava ' or Parthian.

51 *The Army,* etc., p. 116.

and goodness of the horse which were found in an army."[52] Akbar laid down minute rules for admission, muster, review and the like of horses, personally inspected the horses in his stables, and punished the officers if he found them negligent or corrupt. In fact, the whole *mansabdari* system was organised on the basis of the cavalry arm.

The navy was by no means so strong or important as the other branches of the imperial defence. The *Ain* writes of an Admiralty department, which managed a fleet of boats. The duties of this department were: (*a*) the fitting of strong boats capable of transporting war-elephants (Akbar was very fond of elephants and maintained an elephant corps); (*b*) the recruitment of expert seamen; (*c*) supervision of the rivers; (*d*) the remission of tolls for enabling the boatmen to earn proper wages.[53]

It is very difficult to determine accurately the average total strength of the Mughal army, and there is no unanimity of opinion among the scholars on this point. Dr. Smith writes that Akbar " did not maintain a large standing army, equipped at the expense of the state and paid directly from his treasury, as the Maurya kings in ancient days are said to have done. Most of his military strength consisted of the aggregate of irregular contingents raised and commanded either by autonomous chieftains or by high imperial officers."[54] Blochmann estimates the strength of the regular army at 25,000, but this does not seem to be a likely figure. Dr. Horn points out on the basis of the *Zat* list in *Ain* 30 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that the army then comprised 384,758 cavalry and 3,877,557 infantry but Irvine has rejected these figures as extravagant,[55] Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar in his Kabul expedition, writes that at that time the emperor had 45,000 cavalry equipped and paid by himself, 5,000 elephants and many thousand infantry. Thus these differing writers do not help

52 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

53 *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 270.

54 *Akbar*, p. 360.

55 *Army*, pp. 59—61.

us very much in forming a definite idea of the real strength of the army. There are no facts to support the statement of Dr. Smith that " in ordinary years he did not incur the expense of keeping under arms a force at all as large as that raised to defeat his brother's attack."[56] The figures given by Monserrate about Akbar's army are not extraordinarily high. Moreover, Akbar had to be busy throughout his reign either in making new conquest or in suppressing revolts. This could not have been possible without the existence of a large standing army always ready for service. Hawkins notes that under Jahangir the army numbered three to four lakhs. There could be no reason for a sudden rise to this strength in the time of Jahangir, because " the military problems of Jahangir's reign were far less serious than those of Akbar." It seems, therefore, admissible on a modest computation that " the army in Akbar's day was much larger than 25,000 and that it could not have been less than three lakhs."[57] According to Abdul Hamid Lahori, the imperial army in 1648 amounted under the one-fourth rule to 200,000 horse (which comprised 8,000 *Mansabdars*, 7,000 *Ahadis* and *Barqandaz* horsemen and 185,000 ordinary horsemen) and 40,000 infantry (out of which 10,000 remained at court and the rest in the provinces and in the forts). Besides these there were other troops in the *parganas* under the *faujdars*, *krroris* and *amils*, and so the total numerical strength of Shahjahan's army was very great. Aurangzeb also maintained a huge army for his continuous wars in the North-West Frontier and in Rajputana and the Deccan.

Military efficiency is an indispensable condition for the growth and maintenance of imperialism, and it is difficult therefore to agree with Dr. Smith's remark that " Akbar's military organisation was intrinsically weak, although it was far better than that of his happy-go-lucky neighbours. His army could not have stood for a moment against the better kinds of contemporary European troops."[58] About this last

[56] *Akbar*, p. 361.

[57] Ishwari Prasad, *Muslim Rule*, p. 476.

[58] *Akbar*, pp. 66-67.

point also we cannot be sure, for there were no definite trials of strength between the Portuguese and Akbar which might warrant such a statement while on the other hand the Portuguese in India certainly were crushed by Jahangir and Shahjahan. Akbar's army was not "essentially inefficient" as Dr. Smith thinks it to have been ; but it was not without its defects. Thus, as in the continental feudal system, the soldiers did not owe direct fealty to the emperor but were more attached to their immediate recruiters and leaders. Divided command and mutual jealousies and rivalries of the generals specially in the seventeenth century often stood in the path of success in a military enterprise. Then, the army was composed of diverse elements, each of which tried to follow its own peculiar methods and manœuvres ; thus there was often a lack of common plan of action. As years went on, the numerical strength of the army increased, but it became unmanageable and cumbrous. Discipline in the army became lax, and the soldiers became addicted to the vices of the luxurious camp life. Protracted campaigns in distant lands resulting in repeated failures, seriously affected the morale of the army, and during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, it became incapable of "swift action or brilliant adventure," and its inefficiency encouraged aggression and penetration both from the North-West as well as from the South and the sea coasts.

SECTION II

Social and Economic Life in Mughal India

Mere political history can give but little interest if we have no knowledge of the social and economic condition of a country. Our sources for the study of the social and economic life of the people in Mughal India are not so abundant as for political history. But the accounts of the foreign travellers, who visited India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supply us with some valuable information, and we also find incidental references in some contemporary historical works in Persian as well as in contemporary vernacular literatures.

Society in Mughal India presented the picture of a feudal structure with the king at its head. Below the king there were nobles holding important offices under the government and enjoying thereby special honours and privileges, which were denied to the common people. This caused a great difference in the standard of living of those who lived at or about the central or provincial courts and those who lived away from them ; the former maintained a high standard of comforts and luxury while the latter led humble and miserable lives.[59] The nobles rolled in wealth and indulged in extravagances, spending almost all that they earned,—since there was no strictly hereditary nobility, and properties lapsed to the state after the acquirer's death. Excessive addiction to wine and women was their general weakness. Large *harems* were maintained by the emperors as well as the nobles and it is noted in *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar had a seraglio containing 5,000 women, who were under a separate staff of female officers.[60] Pelsaert, the chief of the Dutch Factory at Agra in the time of Jahangir, writes that the *mahals* of the rich were " adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness and he speaks in strong terms about their debauchery.[61]

They enjoyed rich food and costly dinners.[62] Delicious fruits were imported from Bokhara and Samarqand and it is noted in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that " all ranks use ice in summer, the nobles use it throughout the year.[63] Meat of different kinds was commonly taken, but beef seldom ; it is stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that " the cow is considered auspicious, and

59 The *Remonstrantie* of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by Moreland and Geyl, p. 60. Bernier's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 205.

60 Blochmann, Vol. II, pp. 44-45.

61 *The Remonstrantie, etc.*, pp. 64—66.

62 Compare the dinner given by Asaf Khan to Sir Thomas Roe, Terry's *Voyage to the East Indies*, pp. 195—98.

63 It should be noted that Indian towns (e.g., Rajmahal) in the eighteenth century had ice-factories and towns within manageable distance of the Himalayas had regular supplies of ice from the upper ranges, brought down by elephant or camel posts.

held in great veneration because by means of this animal tillage is carried on, the sustenance of life rendered possible, and the table of the inhabitants is filled with milk and butter." Valuable dresses and jewellery were used by the nobles and we know from Abul Fazl that 1,000 complete suits of costly stuff were prepared every year for his Majesty. The nobles lived in palatial and lavishly decorated houses, and they took part in various sports and amusements.

Below the nobles there was ' a small and frugal ' middle class, free from ' ostentatious expenditure.' The officers recruited from this class lived on a standard suited to their respective offices. But their condition was not very prosperous as is shown by their remarks about the prices of food under different dynasties. The merchants led simple and temperate lives ; they lived in a state of ' studied indigence ' and concealed their wealth for fear of being deprived of it by the provincial governors. This is a contrast to the state of affairs three or four centuries earlier, when in Bengal, for instance, the merchants are reported to have had a very high standard of living. Some of the European writers have, however, noted that the merchants on the west coast, who engaged in commerce on a large scale, indulged in luxuries and led comparatively rich lives.

The lot of the lower classes was hard as compared with that of the two upper classes. Their clothing was generally insufficient and it was not possible for them to use woollen garments or shoes. Apparently they did not suffer much from want under normal conditions for chronic economic depression and suppression had made their wants very few ; but famines occasionally disturbed their peaceful, contented or resigned course of life.

Francisco Pelsaert writes on the basis of his seven years' experience of the country that there were in his time " three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers."[64] The workmen received

[64] *The Remonstrantie*, etc., pp. 60-61.

low wages ; they were subject to the oppressions of the nobles and the royal officers, and were sometimes forced to work for them, receiving insufficient remuneration or nothing at all in return. They lived on poor food, and took one meal a day for which they got " nothing but a little *khichri* made of ' green pulse ' mixed with rice." Their houses were built of mud with thatched roofs and contained no furniture at all except some earthen pots and their humble beds. Peons or servants were available in large numbers. They received low wages but were allowed the customary commission or *dasturi*, and very few of them served their master honestly. If the masters held office or power, the servants became arrogant " oppressing on the innocent and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness." The shopkeepers were held in greater respect than the workmen and some of them were even well-to-do. But generally they kept their wealth concealed or, as Pelsaert writes, " they will be victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour." Moreover, they were required to sell their articles at cheap prices to the imperial officers.

The vice of intemperance, which was greatly prevalent among the nobles, was not common among the other classes. Terry remarks : " none of the people there are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom."[65] The same writer also notes that the people were very temperate in their diet. Rice was the staple food , pilau was a favourite dish ; butter was widely used.[66] The people were generally civil to strangers.

Both the Hindus as well as the Muslims used jewels and metallic ornaments. Terry speaks of the Muslim women that they wore veils, had ear-pendants and nostril rings, and the

65 *A Voyage to East India*, pp. xi, 232.

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 193—99.

rich among them used jewellery.[67] The Muslims worshipped a number of *pirs* or saints[68] and observed the Id and Muharram festivities. Pelsaert notes that on the Id day " every one who is able will sacrifice a goat in his house and keep the day as a great festival."[69] Great bitterness existed between the Shia and the Sunni sects, and each called the other *Kafirs* or infidels.[70]

The Hindus were " more punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies."[71] It was a regular habit with them to take daily baths, and they believed so much in the sanctity of the Ganges water that sometimes they travelled 500 or 600 *cosses* for having a dip in its sacred waters.[72] Some of the Brahmans were good astronomers and were also proficient in astrology. Both the Hindus and the Muslims believed in the maxims of astrology, and the Hindu astrologers thus exercised some influence over the Muslim rulers and society.[73] Most of the Hindus cremated their dead ; but some of them (especially those who were too poor to afford the cost of a cremation) " broil the bodies with stubble, near the side of a river, and then precipitate them into the water from a high and steep bank."[74] Sometimes they carried the sickman, when at the point of death, to the river side and thrust his whole body into water, when he was about to die.[75]

' Sati '[76] and child-marriage were prevalent. Bernier saw at Lahore a beautiful girl of twelve years burning on the

67 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

68 Pelsaert, p.69.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

70 *Ibid.*

71 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

73 *Ibid.* This state of things prevailed so late as the end of the eighteenth century (*vide* K. K. Datta's paper on " *Relations between the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal* " in the *J.I.H.*).

74 Bernier, *Travels*, p. 315.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*, p. 314; Pelsaert, p. 78.

funeral pyre of her husband.[77] De la Valle refers to the marriage of two boys, who had to be carried on horseback with the help of grown-up men.[78] In marriages, the bridegroom or the bride had no share in the choice, and the selection was made by the parents or by the relatives. We have some knowledge of Akbar's ideas and regulations about marriage from the *Ain-i-Akbari*. He abhorred marriages before the attainment of puberty by either party ; he maintained that the consent of the bride and bridegroom, as well as the permission of the parents, were absolutely necessary for marriage-contracts ; he regarded marriages between near relatives as improper, disapproved of high dowries and discouraged plurality of wives in ordinary society (though he himself had a large *harem*) ; he provided for appointment of two sober men to enquire into the circumstances of the parties contracting a marriage, and took a tax from both parties.[79] It is doubtful if all these were effective in practice.

Towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, the peasants were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the provincial governors, and were reduced to worse conditions. In certain parts of the country, the highways became unsafe,[80] and the evils of pauperism were widely prevalent.[81] The reign of Aurangzeb saw greater deterioration in society. The old nobility endowed with various qualities and possessed of great initiative and independence of spirit disappeared and there appeared a class of ' smaller men,' whose intellectual tastes and mental strength were dwarfed under the pressure of Aurangzeb's excessive vigilance and obstinacy ; " as the nobles set the tone to society, the whole of the intellectual classes of India slowly fell back to a lower level."[82] This

77 *Ibid.*, p. 314.

78 *Travels*, p. 31.

79 Vol. I, *Ain*, 24, pp. 277-78.

80 Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 41.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 392. Tavernier notes that there were 800,000 Muhammadan fakirs and 1,200,000 Hindu mendicants.

82 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, pp. 455-56

inevitably caused moral degeneration. Luxury drained their moral and material substance, and the influence of the *harems*, where they were brought up in the company of women and eunuchs, filled their minds with degrading vices. Besides unbridled sexual license and secret drinking, pederasty was prevalent among the nobles. Superstitions of various kinds got a strong hold over the minds of the people. Belief in sorcery and witchcraft increased and human beings were sacrificed "to aid the quest for gold and the elixir vitæ, though it was criminal in law and punished whenever detected."[83] Slaves existed in abundance, and eunuchs were very often made and sold. But if the nobles led such degraded and corrupted lives, "among the teeming millions of Indian people (Hindus as well as Muslims) life was pure and not without its simple colour and joy."[84] Vaishnavism and popular songs and stories and pilgrimages to holy places infused religious fervour and tenderness into the hearts of the Hindu masses, while the Muslim masses received pleasure from visits to the tombs of their saints and to holy places like Ajmer, Kulbarga and Burhanpur.

In the time of the later Mughals the contact between the Hindus and the Muslims in social and religious life, which was begun in the earlier period, continued, in spite of several setbacks. We find important illustrations of this even in the reign of the orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb: Alwal, a Muhammadan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmavati* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Vaishnava subjects in the seventeenth century.[85] Abdulla Khan, one of the Sayyid brothers, observed the *Basant* and the *Holi* festivals.[86] In the mid-eighteenth century Sirajuddowla and Mir Jafar enjoyed *Holi* festivals along with their friends and relatives.[87] It is

83 *Ibid.*, p. 463.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 469.

85 D. C. Sen, *History of Bengal Language and Literature*, p. 624.

86 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 100.

87 For details, *vide* K. K. Datta's paper on '*Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*,' *J.I.H.*, December 1929.

said that, on his death-bed, Mir Jafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari, near Murshidabad. The Muhammadans offered 'puja' at Hindu temples as the Hindus offered 'Sini' at mosques. Daulat Rao Sindhia and his officers joined the Muharram procession in green dress like the Muhammadans.[88] A modern writer has described on the authority of *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly of the good old days, how Durga Puja was celebrated at the Delhi court so late as 1825.[89]

Social practices like Sati, child-marriage, Kulinism, and dowry-system increased during the eighteenth century, particularly in Bengal. We have many references to these practices in contemporary literature as well as in the works of foreign writers like Bolts,[90] Craufurd,[91] and Scrafton.[92] Early marriage was a noticeable feature of the Bengali society. Craufurd remarked: "The Hindus are so scrupulous with respect to the virginity of their brides that they marry extremely young, although consummation is deferred."[93] This was also a period of triumphant Kulinism and marriages in Kulin families were generally attended with troubles and quarrels. Polygamy became almost a regular practice with the Kulins as they expected a substantial dowry in every marriage. The dowry-system was not, however, general and never so shocking among the non-Kulins.

Acceptance of dowry was not encouraged at that time in the Maratha society. The Peshwas exercised a control over social and religious affairs and "the marriage regulations of the Peshwas," remarks Dr. S. Sen, "evinced a liberal spirit

88 Dr. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 401.

89 Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali in Bengal: *Past and Present*, July-September, 1932.

90 Bolt's *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, p. 7.

91 *Sketches of the Hindus*, Vol. II, Sketch XII.

92 *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 110-11.

93 Vol. II, p. 2.

that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants."[94] Baji Rao passed strict regulations against " any exaction by the bride's father from the bridegroom." The Peshwas did not also allow forcible marriages[95] but sometimes they tolerated informal marriages if the motive was good.[96] Widow remarriage was prevalent among the non-Brahmans of Maharashtra[97] and " marriage of a woman to a second husband in case of prolonged and continued absence of the first, depriving her of any means of livelihood was also permitted."[98] Widow-remarriage was also prevalent among the Jats (of the Punjab and Jamuna valley), and polyandry was a common practice among them.[99] They were less under Brahman influence than the Rajputs. " Except in the case of very rich men, their women work openly in the fields, and the men have never had the Brahman or Rajput repugnance to the daily drudgery of agriculture."[100] It is said that in Bengal Raja Rajbullubh of Dacca made an unsuccessful attempt in the mid-eighteenth century to introduce widow-remarriage.[101]

Women in general were held in high esteem. Mr. Dow remarked: " Women are so sacred in India,' that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The *harem* is a sanctuary against

94 *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 415. The Peshwas were " uncommonly tolerant and generous to people who professed a faith other than their own " (the Muhammadans, the Parsis, and even the Portuguese).

95 *Ibid.*, p. 416.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 410.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 406.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 407. The Gaekwar's State has recently revived this earlier Maratha tradition.

99 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 83. The system of polyandry also obtained (as it does now) among the Tibetans ' not as a perverse law but as a necessary institution ': Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 21. In the N. W. Himalayan regions adjacent to Indian plains, this custom still obtains. The 1931 census figures show an excess of about six lakhs in married males over married females in India, notwithstanding polygamy amongst a considerable proportion of Muslims; which means that polyandry has still a fair following.

100 *Ibid.*

101 *Kṣītīśavanśāvalīcarita.*

all the licentiousness of victory ; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."[102] There are numerous instances of women saving their honour at the risk of their lives.[103] They were generally " subject to the will of their masters " ; but sometimes they could go above this state of dependence and took active parts even in political affairs. Rani Bhavani of Natore was not the only one, though the most prominent figure among this class of women. Farrukhsiyar's mother played an important part in securing the throne for her son ;[104] the talented Rahimun-nissa, known to her contemporaries as Koki Jiu,[105] effectually interfered in public affairs during the reign of Muhammad Shah ; and the Begam of Nawab Allahvardi was a good political adviser to her husband[106] at court or in the field.

We notice further demoralisation of the court and the nobility during the times of Jahandar Shah and Muhammad Shah. Lal Kunwar's influence on Jahandar Shah destroyed all his sense of decorum and exercised a rapidly degenerating influence on the whole court.[107] The nobles lost their military and administrative abilities more and more. Sir J. N. Sarkar has remarked that " to the thoughtful student of Mughal history nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. Abdur-Rahim and Mahabat, Sadullah and Mir Jumla, Ibrahim and Islam Khan Rumi—who had made the history of India in

102 For further discussion of this point, *vide* K. K. Datta's paper on *Position of Women in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' Calcutta Review,* October, 1930.

103 Irvine, Vol. I, p. 281.

104 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 263.

105 She was the daughter of Jan Muhammad, originally a Hindu-born thatcher in Old Delhi, who became a Muhammadan in his childhood and took to the profession of a fortune-teller. Her father's influence increased gradually and the daughter also soon became associated with the Imperial Court under Muhammad Shah.

106 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 11; Holwell, *I.H.E.*, p. 170.

107 Irvine, Vol. I, pp. 192—97.

the seventeenth century—were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson even half as capable as themselves."[108] The repeated and terrible succession wars and rebellions carried away large numbers of the old nobles, and the weak character of the later Mughals was also responsible for the further decline of the Mughal nobility. They could neither govern themselves, nor had they the tact to select the right sort of men and give them opportunities for acquiring further experience. On the other hand, they indulged in the society of light women, buffoons and flatterers. Thus when "career was not open to talent" and men rose to power through corruption and patronage of the ignoble, the nobles saw that "their only hope of personal safety and advancement" lay in carving out principalities for their own families and in asserting their independence at the opportune moment. Thus the nobility of this period had no strong loyalty to the empire.

While the nobles were on their downward path, we find middle class men like Omichand, Sarupchand, Fatechand (Jagat Seths), Coja Wazid, etc., rising by trade and banking in Eastern India, and also men like Shitab Ray of Patna and Itsamuddin of Nadia (the author of *Sagarfnamah-i-Wilyat*) gaining influence in provincial as well as imperial courts. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century the Delhi administration was flooded by clerks and officials hailing from Bengal and Bihar. This period also witnessed the dislocation of the old landed aristocracy and the rise of a new one from middle class speculators and adventurers, by the extension of the revenue-farming system since 1712, which had the effect of periodically bringing in and turning out Zamindars of diverse origin.

Our information about the economic condition of India during the reigns of Babar and Humayun is meagre. Babar's description of the condition of Hindusthan, as given in his *Memoirs*, has not been accepted by historians as accurate. In Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-namah* there is an incidental reference to the cheap prices of articles in Hindusthan, and

[108] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 308.

it has been also noted that at Amarkot, the birth-place of Akbar, four goats could be purchased for one rupee. Sher Shah introduced certain important economic reforms, about which we have already said something.[109] He reconstructed the old tariff system by abolishing all internal customs and by allowing the levy of duties only on the frontier and at the place of sale within the empire. He reformed the currency system by " making a clean sweep of the old mixed metal currency and other anomalies " and by issuing a new copper coin known as the *dam* with its subdivisions of halves, quarters, eighths and sixteenths.

About economic condition of the people from the time of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb we get some idea chiefly from the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl and from a few references in some other contemporary works as well as from the accounts of the foreign travellers. Under Akbar the *dam, paisa,* or *fulus* remained. It was a copper coin weighing 1 *tolah,* 8 *mashahs,* and 7 *surkhs* and was the fortieth part of the rupee.[110] For account purposes the *dam* was divided into twenty-five parts, each of which was called a *jital.* Mercantile affairs of the kingdom were generally transacted in *round muhurs,* rupees and *dams,* and there were excellent qualities of silver and gold coinage. The currency was not much altered after Akbar's death. In Akbar's time the value of the rupee was generally 2s. 3d. in English money and it contained 175 grains of silver.[111] De Laet remarked in 1631 that rupees ranged in value from 2s. to 2s. 9d. Up to 1616 the official rate of exchange was 40 *dams* for a rupee, and from 1627 onwards the rupee was worth 30 *dams* or a little more or less.[112] There were rupees of several denominations in circulation, but " at any particular time the current issue (known as *Chalani*) was accepted as the standard, and the older issues (known as *Khazana*) were received subject to

109 Qunungo's *Sher Shah,* p. 373.

110 *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. I, p. 31.

111 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb,* Appendix D.

112 *Ibid.,* pp. 183-84.

discount of varying amount, while worn coins were also subject to discount."[113]

In *Ain* 81 we have an exhaustive list about the wages of labourers,[114] which shows that the wages were not high. An unskilled labourer received two *dams* or four-fifths of an anna in modern currency, while a first class labourer (e.g., a carpenter) got seven *dams* or three annas in modern currency per day. These low wages did not affect the people very much, because of 'the extraordinary cheapness of food.'

In *Ain* 27 Abul Fazl has given an elaborate list of the prices of articles, and a note on the prices of important articles will enable us to form an idea of the general cheapness of the things needed for ordinary life in Akbar's time:

Articles.	per *man*	in *dams*
Wheat	,,	12
Wheat flour	,,	22
Coarse flour	,,	15
Barley	,,	8
Barley flour	,,	11
Millet	,,	6
Mushkin (best) paddy ...	,,	100
Sathi (worst) rice ...	,,	20
Jowar	,,	10
Gram	,,	16½
Linseed	,,	10
Peas	,,	6
Mustard-seed ...	,,	12
Mash	,,	16
Moth	,,	12
Mung ...	,,	18
Ghee	,,	105
Oil	,,	80
Milk	,,	25
Curd	,,	18
Refined sugar ...	,,	6
White sugarcandy ...	,,	5½
White sugar ...	,,	128
Brown sugar ...	,,	56

113 *Ibid.*, Appendix D.
114 Vol. I, p. 225.

Vegetables, spices, meat and livestock sold very cheaply. One could get a Hindusthani sheep at Rs. 1/8, each Kashmiri sheep at the same rate, mutton at 65 *dams* per *man* and goat's meat at 54 *dams* per *man* ; and in the province of Delhi a cow could be purchased for Rs. 10. Milk sold at 25 *dams* per *man*. Terry has remarked that fish were purchasable " at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuing "[115] and that " the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country " ; " every one there may eat bread without scarceness."[116] Dr. Smith admits that " the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir probably had more to eat than he has now,"[117] though Mr. Moreland opines that " speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now."[118] The prices were low no doubt but the average income of the masses was proportionately as low or lower, so that there was no golden age then.

The great cities were prosperous and full of plenty. At the time of Sher Shah and Islam Shah " Lahore was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade, and amply furnished with every useful and costly production of the times.[119] Fitch writing in 1585 remarked: " Agra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."[120] Terry speaks of the Punjab as " a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the principal cities

115 *Voyage*, etc., p. 89.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 175.

117 *Akbar*, p. 394.

118 *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 270.

119 Erskine, Vol. II, pp. 469-70.

120 Fitch, p. 98.

for trade in all India."[121] Monserrate writes that Lahore was not second to any city in Europe or Asia. Its shops contained all kinds of merchandise and the streets were full of dense crowds. Burhanpur in Khandesh was " very great, rich and full of people." Abul Fazl speaks highly about the glories of Ahmadabad in Gujrat, ' a noble city in a high state of prosperity,' which ' for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled."[122] Kabul was an important place of trade, where merchants from India, Persia and Tartary assembled.

Sher Shah constructed some roads connecting the important strategic points of his empire. But except certain highways the roads were generally unmetalled ; the " main routes of land travel were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and more generally by walled enclosures, known as *sarais*, in which travellers and merchants could pass the night in comparative security."[123] The rivers like the Indus, the Ganges, and the Jumna, which were navigable all throughout the year, were important highways and a large volume of heavy traffic passed through them throughout Northern India. In Bengal especially the rivers were frequently used for purposes of navigation. There were no permanent bridges over the rivers except a few such as one erected early in Akbar's reign by Munim Khan at Jaunpur. Ordinarily rivers were crossed by fords, ferries and bridges of boats.

Abul Fazl has given us the name of important crops growing in Northern India ; these were cereals, rice, wheat, barley, millets, pulses, sugarcane, fibres of cotton and hemp, oilseeds, indigo, poppy, *pan* and *singhara*, etc. Bengal depended chiefly on rice. Northern India on cereals, millets and pulses, the Deccan on jowar and cotton, the *South* on rice and millets. Though there was no intense specialisation of crops as in the present day, yet some sort of it was not totally absent, for Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and

121 *Voyage, etc.*, p. 76, para. 10.

122 *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 240.

123 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 6.

indigo was to a large extent produced in two places, Biana near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujrat.[124] From Pelsaert's description[125] it appears that there was a large-scale production and manufacture of indigo, in the Jumna Valley and Central India south of it ; " the whole country was taken up by specialised commercial cultivation of that crop, and all the villages and towns engaged in one or other process of the manufacture and export of indigo, foodstuffs being imported from lower Gangetic provinces," which attracted European as well as native traders ; tobacco was introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605 and after this people began to cultivate it in India. Agricultural implements were almost the same as are used in the present-day,—ploughs and hoes, water-lifts and other minor implements. Draught oxen could be procured cheap and easily. There were no good engineering works for irrigation. Writing early in the sixteenth century, Babar noted the absence of irrigation canals in India and remarked that autumn crops were nourished by the rains while spring crops grew when no rains fell. There were a few inundation channels in Akbar's time and also the remains of the aqueducts constructed by Firoz Shah for supplying water to his cities and gardens, " but the value of those works was local, and the country as a whole depended either on wells or on the minor streams which were utilised by means of temporary dams."[126] Agriculture suffered from the oppression of the provincial governors and revenue officers.[127]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the people were frequently tormented by the outbreak of severe famines. In 1555-56 a famine broke out near Agra and Biyana and the historian Badaoni " with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them . . . The whole country was a desert, and no husband-

124 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 105.

125 *Ibid.*, pp. 10—18.

126 *Ibid.*, p 108.

127 Pelsaert, p. 47.

man remained to till the ground."[128] Gujrat, one of the richest provinces of India, was, between 1573—75, the scene of a terrible famine for six months which was followed by a pestilence, and the prices of articles rose high, so that " the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad."[129] The country was subjected to the horrors of a terrible famine during the years 1595—98. It has been said that " men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal."[130] Epidemics and inundations aggravated the troubles and took away many lives. Akbar started some relief measures, e.g., during the famine of 1595—98 he placed Shaikh Farid of Bokhara, a man of kind disposition, in charge of relief measures.[131] Most probably the distress and misery of the country was too great to be remedied by such steps. During Jahangir's reign the country was comparatively safe from the outbreak of famines and only one or two instances of famines are recorded. Terrible epidemic called *waba* or bubonic plague appeared in 1616 in the Punjab as far east as Delhi, " which was attributed by some authorities to the effects of drought the country have suffered from want of rain for two years in succession."[132] A contemporary Dutch account refers to a disastrous famine on the Coromandel coast about the year 1618-19.

During the reign of Shahjahan a terrible famine broke out during the year 1630-31 in the central parts of India (the Gangetic plain was not affected), and it produced disastrous effects on the different aspects of economic life, agriculture, trade and manufacture.[133] The produce of indigo in Gujrat was about one-twentieth of the normal ; it became scarce at

128 Ranking's translation, Vol. I, pp. 549—51.

129 Elliot, Vol. V, p. 384.

130 Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 193.

131 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 399.

132 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 207; Terry, pp. 226—28.

133 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 210—19.

Surat and by October 1630 arrangements were on foot to buy in Agra instead of Ahmadabad. Provision became dear, the prices of cotton goods rose high, while there was a fall in the price of gold and other imports. The roads became unsafe and the famine " disjointed all trade out of frame." The country gradually recovered from the evil effects of the famine by 1635. There were occasional outbreaks of famines during the succeeding years up to 1707 causing high prices of articles and affecting trade, but none of these was so severe as that of 1630-31.

Manufactures enjoyed encouragement by the State in its *Karkhanas* where various kinds of stuff were produced. It has been mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Akbar improved the system of manufactures in four ways, and it gives a long list of silk and cotton manufactured goods.[134] He specially encouraged the production of the Kashmir shawls which were manufactured at Lahore and Kashmir. In his time good cotton cloths were manufactured at Patan in Gujrat, and at Burhanpur in Khandesh, while Sonargaon in the Dacca district was famous for its delicate muslin fabrics, ' the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.''[135] Pelsaert notes that in Chabaspur and Sonargaon " all live by the weaving industry and the produce has the highest reputation and quality.''[136] He also notes that the whole country from Orissa to East Bengal was as it were one huge cotton factory, all villages and towns being concerned in the production of cotton, yarns, and finishing of the goods and making ready for house and foreign markets. Coverlets, ropes, bed tapes and some other commodities were also produced. Fitch writes that a ' great store ' of cotton goods was manufactured at Benares and Pelsaert also notes about the production of girdles, turbans, clothes for Hindu women, *gangazil* (' gangajali ' a fine white cloth) at that place.[137] Jaunpur produced and exported large quantities of cotton goods of various

134 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 91—96.
135 Fitch, p. 94.
136 *Ibid.*, p 8.
137 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

species.[138] The dyeing industry was also a flourishing one. Terry remarks that coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or painted (printed) with a " variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed in the cloth that no water can wash them out."[139] In order to meet the new demand of western Europe there was an increased production of *calicoes* after Akbar.[140] In the district of Rungpur in Bengal " a kind of sack cloth " of jute was manufactured.[141] Silk weaving, though not so widely prevalent as cotton weaving, was practised in Mughal India. Abul Fazl speaks of the imperial patronage of silk manufacture and its consequent improvement. Bengal was the most important centre of silk production and manufacture. Mr. Moreland notes on the authority of Tavernier that about the middle of the seventeenth century the total output of silk in Bengal " was about 2½ million pounds out of which one million pounds were worked up locally, ¾ million were exported raw by the Dutch and ¾ million distributed over India, most of it going to Gujrat, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia."[142] The ship-building industry was still alive in India at this time[143] though the days of Indian maritime activity had passed, and we have descriptions of this in contemporary Bengali literature. The European trading powers often used Indian-made ships for their mercantile as well as fighting needs. Besides these main industries there were sundry fancy goods manufactured ; thus Terry noticed that " many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with

138 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

139 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-109.

140 Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 192.

141 We have reference to such jute cloths in Bhāratcandra's *Annadāmaṅgal*, a Bengali work of the mid-eighteenth century. This shows that manufacture of jute cloths continued right up to the middle of the eighteenth century if not later, and the jute industry of Bengal is not a new one as is often supposed. (In fact it is an ancient Indian industry.)

142 *Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 173.

143 *Ibid.*

other excellent manufactures, may be there had."[144] Pelsaert also saw that in Sindh "ornamental disks, draught-boards, writing cases, and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities ; they are very prettily inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities from Goa and the coast towns."[145]

In the sixteenth century, India had a considerable foreign trade. She imported certain articles from different countries (European as well as Asiatic) and sent out her valuable exports. The imports consisted of gold, silver and other metals such as copper, tin, zinc, lead and chiefly various kinds of luxury goods such as costly stones, velvets, brocades, spices, perfumes, drugs and chinese porcelain of high quality.[146] The foreign traders had not to pay high custom duties but traders were strictly forbidden to " carry any quantity of silver " out of the country. At Surat the custom duties were " 3½ per cent on all imports and exports of goods, and two per cent on money either gold or silver." India exported her various textile fabrics, pepper and a few minor spices, indigo, opium and other drugs. The chief ports of India beginning from the west were Lahori Bandar in Sindh ; the group of Cambay ports, the most important one being Surat, Broach and Cambay ; Bassein, lying just north of the island of Bombay, Chaul, at a short distance to the south, Dabul (modern Dabhol) in the Ratnagiri district, Goa and Bhatkal ; Malabar ports, of which Calicut and Cochin were the most important ; Negapatam and Masulipatam with a few minor ones on the east coast ; Satgaon, Sripur, Chittagong and Sonargaon in Bengal. Chittagong was the most important of all the Bengal ports ; it was designated " Porto Grande " and Satgaon was called " Porto Pequeno " in contradistinction to ' Porto Grande ' "[147]

144 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

145 *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

147 Taylor, *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture at Dacca*, p. 121.

Under Jahangir and Shahjahan, India enjoyed the benefits of manufacture and commerce. In the seventeenth century Bernier saw many of the *Karkhanas* in which skilful artisans were employed in their work for the state. But at the same time he notes that the manufacturers and artisans were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officials, who forced goods from traders at low prices.[148] They also exacted forbidden *abwabs* from craftsmen and merchants.[149] Thus the manufacturers and the common people derived no good economic profit from the fine manufactures of the country. But this selfish policy of the nobles kept up the tradition of high class manufacture in the country.

Under Aurangzeb the economic outlook of the country became gloomy. Political order and peace are indispensably necessary for any kind of progress. The bankruptcy of his administration, the incessant wars and the consequent financial exhaustion of the empire, made the existence of political order and peace impossible. The peasants, who formed the backbone of economic prosperity in a country like India, as well as the industrial classes, were afflicted with great sufferings. Agriculture, village industries and industrial classes were greatly affected. In the Deccan, which was highly distracted by the Mughal—Maratha struggle, and by several other long continued wars with the Rajputs and the Deccan states, trade was almost at a stand-still. During the years 1690—98, the English could not get enough cloths for their European shipping.[150] "Thus ensued," remarks Sir J. N. Sarkar, "a great economic impoverishment of India—not only a decrease of the 'national stock,' but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country."[151] Since the wars of Aurangzeb in the Peninsula were carried on with the resources of the Bengal Subah,

148 Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 254—256.

149 Sarkar's *Mughal Administration*, Chap. V.

150 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 445.

151 *Ibid.*

and since the rapidly dwindling Mughal empire depended to a great extent on Bengal tributes for its extravagant expenditure, this subah was naturally put to a great economic strain, and the economic difficulties of Bengal began much earlier than 1757 (ordinarily supposed to begin a dark age).

These evils increased during the eighteenth century when the whole of India was passing through a transitional period. Economic prosperity presupposes the existence of law and order. But the death of Aurangzeb was the signal for the outbreak of disorders throughout the different parts of India. Court revolutions and conspiracies, the invasion of Nadir Shah, the distracted condition of the Punjab and the frontiers from 1739 to 1799, the ravages of the Marathas and the Himalayan tribes, and the piracies committed by the Mags[152] and the Portuguese, the oppressive revenue administration, currency troubles and the abuse of extraordinary trade privileges practised by the English East India Company's servants in carrying on their private trade,—all combined to aggravate the troubles in the different economic spheres.

Fruitful commerce is a great asset of a country's prosperity. But the trade of India, especially of Bengal (European, Asiatic and internal), suffered from various evils during the eighteenth century. One striking feature of Bengal's foreign trade during the first half of that century was the flourishing private trade of the East India Company's 'servants,' which grew rapidly chiefly owing to the very low salaries given to those servants.[153] Interpreting Farrukhsiyar's *Firman* of 1717 to their own advantage, they abused the *dastaks* or passports of the Company for their own private trade. This deprived

152 Compare the expression '*Mager muluk*.'

153 About 1712 the ranks of the East India Company's employees were Presidents and Governors, Senior and Junior merchants, Factors and writers; the rates of their pay were Rs. 133-5-0, 26-8-0, 20-0-0, 10-0-0, and 3-5-0 per month respectively. Of course the purchasing power of the rupee was, at the lowest levels reached in that half century (e.g., during famines of 1710, 1751, etc.), about ten times higher than now; but even then it is unthinkable that a European (or Indian) clerk in a merchant office could live on Rs. 32 a month, or that a Governor could be paid the salary of a sub-deputy collector of today.

the state of its customs-revenue and made the native and other merchants subject to unfair competition resulting in their decadence. Some of the ordinary native Hindu merchants or *banias* also practised the same abuse, for the East India Company's *dastaks* could be purchased at prices between Rs. 25 and Rs. 200 each.[154] Allahvardi, Sirajuddowla and Mir Casim protested against these abuses in the field of trade, but their attempts ended in smoke, and the change of political power due to the revolution of 1757 led to their increase.

The Dutch remained the only efficient commercial rival of the English East India Company till the middle of the eighteenth century ; the French, like the Portuguese, and the Danes, were pushed into the background by 1754, after a brief period of flourishing trade from October 1730 to 1741. In general the trade of the English East India Company prospered during this period, but it was on the other hand hampered by certain obstructions, as for example, occasional interference by the country's government officers and some zamindars, currency troubles, the depradations committed by the Mags and Portuguese pirates and mostly by the Maratha invasions.[155] The frequent incursions of the Marathas greatly affected the economic life of the people in general in its various aspects. Trade went on a downward course, manufacture was debased,

154 " The injustice to the Moors consists in that being by their courtesy permitted to live here as merchants, to protect and judge what natives were their servants and to trade custom-free, we under that pretence protected all the Nawab's subjects that claimed our protection, though they were neither our servants nor our merchants, and gave our *dustuks* or passes to numbers of natives to trade custom-free, to the great prejudice of the Nawab's revenue, nay more, we levied large duties upon goods brought into our districts from the very people that permitted us to trade custom-free, and by numbers of their impositions (framed to raise the Company's revenue) some of which were ruinous to ourselves, such as taxes on marriages, provisions, transferring land property and caused eternal clamor and complaint against us at Court."—*Causes of the Loss of Calcutta,* by David Rannie, Hill's Bengal, 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 384.

155 K. K. Datta, 'History of the East India Company's Trade in the Time of Allahvardi,' *Calcutta Review*.

industry deteriorated, agriculture was hampered, and the prices of provisions and other goods rose high.[156]

The period after 1757 has been generally pictured as 'the darkest age of Indian economic history.'[157] It has been pointed out by Mr. R. C. Dutt, the chief exponent of this view, that the greater part of the profits of the East India Company (arising out of trade and revenues of Bengal) were sent out to England and not utilised for the benefit of the country. It is also said that there was a currency muddle which followed as a necessary corollary to the 'drain' from Bengal and that this period also witnessed the decline of inland trade, manufactures, and agriculture, and the consequent impoverishment of the people. According to him all these disorders were due to the increased power of the Company after Plassey (without responsibility) and the ruinous commercial policy of the English Government at home. On the other hand, Mr. Hamilton avers that the general economic decline was not specially characteristic of the period, 1757—72. He writes emphatically: "I believe the theory so generally current which attributed the passage of India's Golden Age of manufacturing prosperity to England's commercial policy, to rest almost entirely upon a one-sided and inaccurate interpretation of economic history."[158] An impartial student of history will, however, note that no fresh and entirely novel history of India, economic or political, began with Plassey or 1757. There is no doubt about the growth of economic disorder in the thirty-five years following 1757; this was partly the natural concomitant of the shifting of political power; partly due to the combination of trade and government by the East India Company, and to a series of unsuccessful economic experiments. But in the main the lines of economic decline had already been chalked out long ago early in the eighteenth century if not earlier: thus, for example, the revenue-farming

156 K. K. Datta, 'The Marathas in Bengal,' *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.*

157 Dutt, *India Under Early British Rule.*

158 *Trade Relations,* p. v.

system or the currency difficulties of multiplicity and silver shortage were not the creation of 1757, but were legacies of a long past ; so also unsafety and disorders due to invasions, piracies and turbulence prevailed throughout the eighteenth century ; the obstruction of trade and productive activity by monopolies and abuse of trade privileges was no new thing in the fifties ; the ' drain ' to Delhi and the prices paid for thrones were continuations of the established tradition. Yet it certainly made a difference, in that the country got less in return for the ' drain ' in the latter half of the eighteenth than in the earlier half on account of an alien rule. It was also owing to the East India Company's supplanting the native government step by step that unemployment became more accentuated by disbanding of armies[159] and disestablishment of courts and native secretariats[160] ; though it was also due to the effects of the revenue-farming system, *abwabs* and famines amongst agriculturists and to inland trade monopoly and oppression of ' investing ' and ' dadni ' merchants amongst traders and manufacturers. Widespread unemployment naturally produced lawlessness, and soldiers, retainers, and even Zamindars, joined and exploited professional robbery and criminal tribes. The whole country became unsafe and robberies were committed even in Calcutta suburbs. This anarchy and insecurity desolated centres of agriculture and industry, which were turned into series of jungles and stray villages. In the midst of these came the great famine of 1770,

159 Mir Jafar dismissed 80,000 and the remainder of the army was disbanded after Mir Casim's attempt at recovery of power, as for example, Nazamuddowlah, by the treaty of 1765, disbanded all troops retaining only a few for dignity and tax-gathering. Very small portion of disbanded soldiers found posts under the Company. Armed retainers and other followers of Zamindars were disbanded owing to their being reduced to beggary or dispossessment first under Mir Casim and then under the Company.

160 Since 1757 the Bengal Nawab's income rapidly became smaller and smaller and the Court dwindled to insignificance, so that large numbers of Muhammadans and Bihari Hindus, who found employments in the civil administration or in the army or at Court, became unemployed. Unemployment grew also among traders and manufacturers owing to inland trade monopoly of East India Company's servants.

which combined with rigorous exaction of revenues, produced untold miseries on the people and caused further desertions of holdings and depopulations of villages.[161]

SECTION III

Course of Religious History, and the Religious Policies of the Mughal Sovereigns

Just as in other parts of the world, the sixteenth century was a century of religious revival in India. The ground had been prepared during the preceding two centuries, and we have already noted some of the presages of this reformation. The doctrines of the different popular reformation movements gave India 'a splendid awakening, the dominant note of which was love and Liberalism.'[162] Along with the Hindu reformation movements, the chief forms of which have been pointed out before, there sprang up about this time certain movements within the fold of Islam such as the Mahdavi and the Roshni movements, which were creating a great religious ferment in the country when Akbar was called upon to consolidate his dominion in India. The genesis of the Mahdavi movement among the Muslims was that it laid stress on the expected appearance of a Messiah, or redeemer of the sins of mankind at the close of a millennium after the birth of Muhammad. The movement became very strong towards the close of the fifteenth century and agitated the minds of the Muslim throughout the sixteenth century in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindusthan. Syyid Mahamad of Jaunpur, born about 1443 A.D., started the movement by professing himself to be the promised Mahdi. "The Quran, revealed to Muhammad, was to be explained by the Mahdi. The Mahdi taught that the goal of life was the attainment of the

161 Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal.*

162 *Vide* ante.

beatific vision by meditation on God and of ultimate identity with him." The followers of this movement organised themselves into a brotherhood, all of which had equal rights and equal shares. Shaikh Abdulla Niaz, an Afghan, and his disciple Shaikh Alai contributed much towards the rapid progress of this movement in India. Side by side with this an almost similar current of religious movement known as the Roshni movement was flowing in Afghanistan. The followers of this movement called the Roshnis also believed in the coming in of a Messiah and in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by means of spiritual practices. In the sixteenth century Mulla Suleiman of Kalinjar and his disciple Shaikh Bayazid, the 'Pir-i-Raushan' or apostle of light of the Roshnis, preached the doctrines of this movement. The creed of both the movements was militant and in both we find one posing himself as God's representative, and playing the rôle of both spiritual and temporal head.[163]

In spite of previous attempts to bring the Hindus and the Muslims into closer contact and of the beginning of mutual interchange of ideas and customs between the two communities, intolerance still reigned supreme and caused inequalities in the political field. With the exception of Zain-ul-Abedin of Kashmir, Akbar was the first Muslim ruler in India who made an attempt to abolish all distinctions between Hindus and Mussalmans, and thus to modify the character of the Muslim State. Edowed with the genius of a statesman he realised that in India, where the Mughals were to establish their own authority by crushing the disaffected Afghans and by subjugating the Hindus, he could not afford to "make the former his political enemy and the latter religious helots." For his crusade against the anti-Mughal forces, he conciliated the Rajputs and inaugurated a policy of toleration towards the Hindus, which led him to abolish the Pilgrim tax in the eighth year and the Jaziya in the ninth year of his reign. Thus, as with his English contemporary Elizabeth, Akbar's religious policy was largely influenced by political considerations.

163 *J.I.H.*, 1930, pp. 317—19.

But besides temporal motives, his soul had an eager craving for the appreciation of truth, and occasionally " tempests of feeling had broken over Akbar's soul." Badaoni says that " he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the (Fatehpur) palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours." The divergent doctrines of the different religious sects and their strife with one another offended his feelings and he directed his energies " to the evolution of a new religion, which would, he hoped, prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast empire in one harmonious whole."[164]

There were various influences which moulded his temperament and ultimately led him to found a new faith. First, there was the influence of heredity which " endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way." The descendants of Timur were men of enlightenment and scholarship, imbued with the liberal spirit of Sufism and were free from orthodoxy. Timur was not a mere ruthless conqueror ; he drew the best elements of culture and art through his emissaries of peace from Persia, India and China and made Samarqand a centre of civilisation. His successors, notably Babar and Humayun, were also endowed with scholarly and æsthetic tastes. Akbar's own mother, who was the daughter of a Persian scholar, impressed upon his mind the value of toleration. Secondly, his marriage with the Rajput princesses and contact with Hinduism and the cross-currents of the different reform movements exerted a great influence on his mind. Lastly, the doctrines of Sufism saturated his mind with liberal and sublime ideas, carried him away from the path of Islamic orthodoxy and made him earnestly seek to " attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality." Very much like the kindred Vedantic philosophy, Sufism held

[164] Smith, *Akbar*, p. 162.

that God alone is the absolute reality, individual human souls are emanations from His essence with which they are to be finally united, and that " the universe is nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth." The Sufists discarded all ceremonials and external observances, laid stress upon the spirit underlying all religions, insisted on free thought as the most indispensable condition for spiritual development, and by leading pious lives they aspired for the " beatific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness." The persecuting policy of the Safavi rulers of Persia drove many Sufi scholars to Samarkhand, Bokhara, Herat and Kabul, and Akbar had an early contact with them during his residence in the court of Kabul, and a few years later Abdul Latif, ' a paragon of learning,' whom Bairam Khan appointed as his tutor, imparted to his young pupil, then only sixteen, his tolerant ideas on religion. Thus " intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica."[165]

Akbar conformed to the outward observances of the Sunni faith until 1575 when his association with Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons Faizi and Abul Fazl, who were mystics and eclectics like him, wrought a profound change on his mind and increased his yearning after truth.[166] This led him to construct in 1575 a new building at Fatehpur-Sikri, called the *Ibadat-Khana* (the House of Worship) for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Akbar at first called the learned ulemas to the *Ibadat-Khana* and listened to their debates with attention. The leaders of the orthodox party were Shaikh Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdunnabi, whereas Mubarak, Faizi, Abul Fazl and Raja Birbal represented the free-thinkers. The orthodox quarrelled among them-

165 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 307.

166 Carpenter, *Theism in Medieval India*, pp. 498—500.

selves and they levelled more violent attacks on the free-thinkers. But the discussions in the hall soon degenerated into 'vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks.' As Badaoni writes: "The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battlefield of mutual contradiction and opposition and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the pale of Sunni and Shiah, of Hanafi and Shafi, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief."[167] The bitter differences between the two parties of the ulema and the failure of the Muslim doctors of the orthodox school to satisfy him by their answers to some of his questions convinced Akbar about their incapacity to comprehend the deepest truths of religion and the futility of their doctrines. He therefore invited the exponents of other religions to the *Ibadat-Khana* to know what these contained. Hence, as Abul Fazl remarks, the hall consisted of "Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinnas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians, and others."[168] Making allowance for some exaggeration in his statement, it may be said that Akbar consulted the exponents of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity.

Among the exponents of Hinduism, Purshottam and Devi, were invited by Akbar, and the latter of the two "instructed His Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, and stars and of reverencing the chief gods of the Hindus—Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Krishna, Rama, and the goddess Mahamai." They impressed upon him the doctrine of metempsychosis and he now held that, "there is no religion in which the doctrine of transmigration has not taken firm root." Among the Jain teachers, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya exerted considerable influence on Akbar. In 1582 he called to his court Hira Vijay Suri, who prevailed upon the

167 *Al-Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 262.

168 *Akbarnamah*, Vol. III, p. 366.

emperor to release prisoners and caged birds and to prohibit the slaughter of animals on certain days. In 1593 another Jain teacher named Siddhachandra visited the emperor at Lahore and got several concessions for his faith, such as the abolition of the tax on pilgrims to the Satrunjaya hills and the control over the Jaina holy places.[168a] The Parsis or the followers of Zoroaster also took part in the religious debates. In 1578 Akbar invited to his court Dastur Meherjee Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navasari in Gujrat. His influence on the emperor was so great that the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, e.g., sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Badaoni writes that the Parsis "impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rules of the old Parsis and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at the court at all hours of the day according to their custom." Akbar also felt a keen interest for the doctrines of Christianity and invited the Christian Fathers from Goa to his court. In 1580 came to his court a Jesuit mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian interpreter Enriquez. But the Christian Fathers were tactless enough to abuse Islam and the Prophet so much so that on one occasion the life of Father Rodolfo was in danger and could be saved only by Akbar's protection.

Thus we find that Akbar tried to satisfy his religious curiosity by coming in contact with the exponents of contemporary religions, and "he went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain or a Christian."[169] But he was not definitely converted to any; and we do not find any reason for exaggerating the influence of Christianity, more than that of other faiths, on Akbar just as Dr. Smith has done by writing that "the contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to re-

168a They were soon to be persecuted by Jahangir.

169 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 165.

nounce the Muslim religion."[170] The fact is that "his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions bv means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism."[171]

Moreover, Akbar did not like the authority of the ulemas as a check to his absolute political supremacy over India. A Muslim state was to be governed in consonant with the Quranic injunctions, the interpretation of which remained with the ulemas. By reading the Khutba in the King's name, they gave the religious sanction to his authority, and as such, like the Popes in Medieval Europe, they "claimed a parallel claim to the obedience of the people." Essentially modern in spirit, Akbar wanted to free the state from the undue influence of the ecclesiastics, and "it would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects."[172] Thus, after he had manifested his genius as a conqueror and ruler, he accepted in right earnest Shaikh Mubarak's suggestion given in 1573 that he might be supreme authority over religion as well.

In his desire to establish spiritual headship Akbar proceeded step by step. In June 1579 he displaced the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur-Sikri and read the Khutba in his own name in order to emphasise his position as the supreme head of the church (Imam-i-Adil). Faizi prepared this Khutba, which ran as follows:

'In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity;
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts
Exalted be His Majesty—'Allah-u-Akbar'!

170 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
171 *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 323.
172 *Ibid.*, p. 324.

According to Badaoni, Akbar lost his nerve while reading the Khutba, but he is not supported by other historians, and Abul Fazl asserts that the emperor " several times distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital and the audience gathered bliss." This innovation of Akbar caused a great consternation in the orthodox circles, but Akbar remained firm.

In September 1579 a second blow was dealt against the power of the ulemas. A document was drawn up " with honest intentions for the glory of God and propagation of Islam " by which the leading ulemas and lawyers transferred into the hands of Akbar their authority in spiritual affairs. This ' Infallibility Decree ' made Akbar the supreme arbiter in all cases, spiritual and temporal, and thus it was laid down that " should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and his Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation ; Provided always, that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation ; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this."

This document produced a great heart-burning among the orthodox, who brought all kinds of charges against the emperor. But they misunderstood his policy and regarded his attempt to realise truth as a step towards forsaking Islam. Abul Fazl gives the real cause of resentment against the emperor's policy in the following sentences : " An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good

of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. Firstly, the sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Secondly, the reason of ' Peace with all ' (*Sulh-i-Kul*) was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success."[173] On the authority of Badaoni, an orthodox Sunni writer, and the Jesuits, Dr. Smith writes that " about this time Akbar, becoming alarmed at the widespread resentment aroused by his innovations, adopted a policy of calculated hypocricy."[174] But there are no definite facts to support this statement and it must be said that Akbar was by no means a pretender. As a modern writer remarks: " He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of the nation without having spiritual attainments . . . From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur-Sikri to the propagation of *Din-i-Ilahi,* Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilised his spiritual attainments for political purposes."[175]

Akbar next sought to do away with the ' incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person ' by founding a new religion, " compounded " as the Jesuit author Bartoli says, " out of various elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ." In order to do this he summoned a General Council of the Theologians and Mansabdars, where he said: " For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they

173 *Akbarnamah,* Vol. III, p. 400.

174 *Akbar,* p. 181.

175 *J.I.H.,* 1930, p. 325.

should be both 'one' and 'all'; with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any religion, while gaining whatever is better in another." Thus he wanted to found a new religion just as he had founded an empire and promulgated the *Din-i-Ilahi* or the Divine Faith, which was a brilliant combination of the fundamental principles of all religions, as he believed that all religions were but different paths leading to the same goal. As Abul Fazl states: "He is now the spiritual guide of the nation and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth."[176] In 1580 were prescribed the four degrees of devotion to his Majesty, and they consisted, as Badaoni writes, "in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne."

An account of the Divine Faith has been given by Abul Fazl in *Ain* No. 77 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* where he describes the rite of initiation and other observances which every one intending to become a member had to follow: "The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other observe the following custom: One says, "Allah-u-Akbar"; and the other responds, "Jalla Jalaluhu" . . . It is also ordered by his Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey. Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey. His Majesty has also ordered that members should endeavour to abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during

176 *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 164.

the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain, nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers. Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old and barren women ; nor with girls under the age of puberty." Some of these directions would appear queer or unessential to modern readers.

True to his principle of universal toleration Akbar did not try to propagate his new religion in the spirit of a zealous missionary. He appealed to the inner consciences of men and did not try to force his faith on them. As mentioned in the *Ain* there were eighteen members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* at court among whom the most prominent were Abul Fazl, Faizi, Shaikh Mubarak, Mirza Jani of Thatta and Aziz Koka, Raja Birbal being the only Hindu in the list. A number of fantastic regulations, of which Badaoni has given a detailed account, were issued in 1582 against Islam. To examine the charge of attempting to destroy Islam brought against Akbar by the orthodox a reference to the more important of these regulations is necessary.

These are :

" The Era of the Thousand was stamped on the coins and a *Tarikh-i-Alfi* commencing with the death of the Prophet was to be written.

Sijdah was to be offered to kings.

Circumcision was forbidden before the age of twelve and was then left to the will of boys.

Beef was prohibited and this was due to the ' Company of rascally Hindus.' His Hindu wives had created a prejudice in his mind against garlic and onions which were forbidden.

The wearing of beards was discouraged.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses forbidden by the *Shari'at* was made obligatory.

The flesh of the wild boar and tiger was permitted and the emperor ordered swine and dogs[176a] to be kept in the *harmen* and under the fort and '*regarded the going to look at them* every morning as a religious service.'

Public prayers and the *azan* (call to prayer) were abolished. Muslim names such as Ahmad, Muhammad and Mustafa became so offensive to his Majesty that he got them changed to other names. The fast of Ramzan and pilgrimage to Mecca were prohibited. The study of Arabic was looked upon as a 'crime' and Muslim law, the Quran and the Hadis were all tabooed. Their place was taken by mathematics, astronomy, poetry, medicine, history and fiction which were assiduously cultivated.

Boys were not to be married before the age of sixteen and girls before fourteen, because the offspring of such marriages were bound to be weak and sickly.

Mosques and prayer rooms were changed into store-rooms and guard-rooms."

Badaoni is supported by the Jesuit writers alone, whose source of knowledge was the orthodox section. Moreover, it is doubtful if Badaoni's knowledge of the facts which he enumerates was definite or whether he ever attempted to determine the truth. His statements are all along coloured by narrow sectarian ideas and are full of attacks against the Hindus. So it would not be fair on the part of an impartial historian to hold, on the basis of the writing of Badaoni, that Akbar renounced Islam in his later years. With a mind illumined by reason and freed from the narrow prejudices of a fanatic, Akbar was not a foe of any religion. We do not find him ever denying the authority of the Quran, not even in the so-called Infallibility Decree.

Dr. Smith has denounced the *Din-i-Ilahi* as "the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained

[176a] Sacred to Rajputs and Parsis respectively.

autocracy", and he writes in another place that "the Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom."[177] But a critical and impartial study of Akbar's character, policy and aims shows clearly the unsoundness of this view. The German historian of Akbar gives a fair estimate of his Divine Faith in the following concluding sentences of his work: "Badaoni certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the *Din-i-Ilahi,* he repeats the misconceptions current among the populace marred and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a god of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religious belief. If in every deed he had contemplated the deification of himself, a design certainly foreign to his character, these words of Voltaire would serve as his vindication: Cest le privilege du vrai genie et surtout 'du genie qui ouvre une carriere, de faire impunement de groudes fantes.'"[178]

The political results of the *Din-i-Ilahi* were beneficial, as it facilitated the growth of unity within the empire. But as a cult it did not survive the death of Akbar. Akbar "wanted to found a new religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, i.e., the prophets

177 *Akbar,* p. 222.

178 *Von Noer,* I, p. 348.

never meant to found them. They, in their intense love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way ; he began where religion ends. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith after enunciating its basic principles."[179]

Jahangir's religious views " perplexed his contemporaries and posterity alike." Some regarded him as an atheist, or an eclectic, or a devout Muslim, while others thought that he was a Christian at heart. There were some others who looked upon him as a scoffer at all faiths like Voltaire. But all these are mere surmises and do not speak the truth about his religion.

Jahangir was not of course so rational as his father, nor did he possess a deep religious feeling, but he did not rest satisfied with mere dogma or superstition and sincerely believed in God and God's saints. " Intellectually he owed allegiance to Sufism or Vedantism on which he delighted to converse with Jadrup and other sages."[180] Still, with his pledge for maintaining Sunni orthodoxy, he did not refrain from punishing those who interfered with this, as for example, he once chastised certain Muslims on hearing that they had been influenced by a Sanyasi.

Though he gave up for a time the society of the Jesuit missionaries, his attitude towards Christianity was on the whole friendly and he allowed the Christian missionaries to preach freely in his empire. But he understood little of the reformed sects, and for the orthodox Hindu religion of his time he had no reverence but contempt. The image of Varaha, the Boar-Avatar of the Hindus, at Ajmer, was destroyed and thrown into the tank according to his orders. Again on seeing the temple of Jalamukhi at Kangra in 1622 he remarked: " A world has here wandered in the desert of error."[181] Thus in

[179] *J.I.H.*, 1930, p. 328.

[180] Beni Prasad, *Jahangir*, p. 442.

[181] For other illustrations, vide Beni Prasad's *Jahangir*, p. 442, footnote.

the reign of Jahangir there are exceptions to his father's policy of religious toleration, though on the whole he tried to follow the maxim of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace into all).

Shahjahan deliberately deviated from the policy of religious toleration. The contemporary Muslim chronicler speaks highly of his orthodoxy and describes him as *Shahanshah Din-i-Panah*. He ruthlessly persecuted the Christians for the misdeeds of the Portuguese and his attitude towards the Hindus and the Shias was hostile. Under his orders seventy-six Hindu temples were demolished in the country of Benares, and his Sunni fanaticism made him eager to destroy the Deccan Sultanates, which professed the Shia faith. Thus beneatn outward grandeur and glory of the empire during the reign of Shahjahan, the narrow policy of religious intolerance got a new start after about ninety years, and was continued in the next reign against the interests of the state.

Aurangzeb was a man of puritan temperament and he adopted various measures for enforcing " his own ideas of the morose seriousness of life and punctilious orthodoxy." He forbade the use of *Kalima* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins to prevent the holy words from being trampled under foot or defiled by the non-Muslims. He abolished the Nauroz which the Mughal sovereigns of India had borrowed from the rulers of Persia. Censors of public morals (*muhatasibs*) were appointed to " regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law."[182] The old mosques and *khanqahs*, which had been reduced to ruins, were repaired by his orders and " *Imams, Muazzins, Khatibs* and attendants were appointed in them with regular salaries, and students were granted daily allowances according to their progress in knowledge, that they might engage in the study of theology with composure of mind."[183] In the eleventh year of his reign he forbade music at Court on the ground that he " had no liking for pleasure and no time for amusements " and the old musicians and singers were dismissed. But, though

182 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 82.

183 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 84.

banned from the court, music could not be " banished from the human soul " ; the regulation was enforced only in the important cities, and the nobles continued to enjoy music in secret. The ceremony of weighing the emperor on two birth-days was abolished ; and the courtiers were ordered to give up the Hindu practice of saluting each other and were to repeat the formula ' Salam alekum ' (Peace be on you) which could not be, however, used in the imperial presence. The astrologers were forbidden to prepare almanacs, but belief in astrology was too deeply rooted in Indian minds to be destroyed by one imperial legislation.[184] He simplified the customary rejoicings on the birthday and coronation day and abolished the *darshan* (the ceremony by which his predecessors appeared every morning at a balcony on the wall of the palace to receive the salute of the people assembled on the ground outside). Strict orders were passed against the use of spirituous liquor and *bhang*, and the women were forbidden to visit the shrines of holy men.

In his private life Aurangzeb was not addicted to the common vices of his time and the Muslims revered him as a " Zinda Pir " or living saint. He issued certain regulations which were " intended to promote general morality without any special reference to Islam." As mentioned by Manucci, the dancing girls and public women were given the choice between marriage and banishment from the kingdom, but this regulation did not prove very effective. He did not like fashions or effeminacy in dress. Strict orders were passed against singing obscene songs or burning faggots during the holy festivals and the Muharram processions were also stopped. The official guide-books of the reign mention that Aurangzeb forbade *Sati* (December 1663), but " the evidence of contemporary European travellers in India shows that the royal prohibition was seldom observed."[185]

[184] It remained firm in the minds of the Muslim Nawabs, grandees and people till late in the eighteenth century.

[185] Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 92.

These regulations did not satisfy Aurangzeb, who secured the throne as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy. He regarded India as " land of the faithful " where the existence of ' idolatry ' could not be tolerated, and in his eagerness to advance the cause of his religion he carried the policy of religious intolerance, which had begun definitely with Shah-jahan, if not with Jahangir, to its extreme. Himself a zealous Sunni Muslim, his idea was to establish an Islamic theocracy for the benefit of the members of his faith, pushing other religions and communities, even the followers of the Shia faith, to the background. In pursuance of this policy he began a regular attack against Hinduism. He had given evidence of his intolerance during his viceroyalty of Gujrat (1664), when he desecrated the Chintamon temple in Allahabad by killing a cow in it and by turning it into a mosque, and destroyed many other newly constructed temples in the province. On 9th April, 1669, he issued a general order " to demolish all the schools and temples of the infidels and to put down their religious teachings and practices." Many shrines were demolished, including the famous temples of Somnath in Gujrat, Vishwanath in Benares and Keshava Rai in Mathura. In January 1670, he sent orders for destroying the temple of Kesava Rai in Mathura completely and for renaming the same city as Islamabad. For the proper enforcement of his regulations, officers were appointed in all the subdivisions and cities of the empire and so large was their number that a *darogha* (Director-General) had to be placed over them to supervise their work.

Economic pressure was brought to bear on the Hindus, as they had to pay custom duties at the rate of 5 per cent while the Muslims had to pay 2½ per cent. In May 1667 the Muslims were wholly exempted from custom duties while no remission was made in the case of the Hindus. To encourage conversion the emperor granted rewards and offered posts in the public service to new converts. He excluded the Hindus from public offices. " Qanungoship on condition of turning Muslim " passed into a proverb, and, as Sir J. N. Sarkar writes, " several families in the Punjab still preserve his letters patent

in which this condition of office is unblushingly laid down."[186] In 1671 he passed an ordinance that the rent-collectors of the crown-lands must be Muslims and that all viceroys and talukdars should dismiss their Hindu *peshkars* (head clerks) and *diwanians* (accountants). But as it became impossible to carry on the provincial administration without the help of the Hindu *peshkars*, the emperor, later on, allowed half the *peshkars* to be Hindus, while the other half were Muhammadans. According to his orders, some of the converts were placed on elephants and carried in procession through the city. In March 1695, all Hindus, with the exceptions of the Rajputs, were forbidden to ride *palkis*, elephants or horses, or to carry arms.[187] In 1668 Aurangzeb stopped all Hindu fairs throughout his dominions and ordered that Hindu festivals of *diwali* and *holi* could be celebrated only outside bazars and under some restrictions.

In 1679 he reimposed *jaziya* on 'unbelievers' in different parts of the empire "to spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity." A number of Muslim collectors and *amins* were scattered throughout the empire for realising the tax, and so large was their number that in 1687 an Inspector-General of *jaziya* was appointed to tour through the four provinces of the Deccan in order to inspect their work. This tax gave a very large sum to the state, and Sir J. N. Sarkar has estimated that 'the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's direct contribution to the state." "One day when he (Aurangzeb) went to public prayer in the great mosque on the Sabbath a vast multitude of Hindus thronged the road from the palace to the mosque, with the object of seeking relief." In spite of repeated orders the crowd went on increasing and blocked the emperor's path. "At length an order was given to bring out the elephants and direct them against the mob. Many fell trodden to death under the feet of the elephants and horses."

186 *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 277.

187 *Ibid.*, p. 378.

All these reactionary measures caused great hardships for the Hindus. "The only life that the Hindus could lead under Aurangzeb was a life deprived of the light of knowledge, deprived of the consolation of religion, deprived of social union and public rejoicing, of wealth and the self-confidence that is begotten by the free exercise of natural activities and use of opportunities,—in short, a life exposed to constant public humiliation and political disabilities."[188] The empire itself became exposed to grave perils. It was immediately threatened by the uprisings of the Jats, the Satnamis, the Sikhs and the Rajputs, which along with the Deccan troubles, distracted Aurangzeb's energies during the remainder of his life till it ended in a tragedy. He was conscientious as a follower of Islam, but a complete failure as a ruler. The empire which had been built up by Akbar's wise and conciliatory policy foundered on the rock of Aurangzeb's orthodoxy and the latter left for his successors the unpleasant task of struggling unsuccessfully to preserve a kingdom, exposed to various disintegrating forces before which it ultimately succumbed.

SECTION IV

Literature and Art in Mughal India

In Mughal India there was no department of education organised and maintained by the state. Education depended upon private initiative and arrangements. The emperors as well as many of the grandees encouraged education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. "This, however, was recognised as a religious and not a political duty, nor were the recipients of these favour bound to maintain schools with the money."[189] But in practice there was a *maktab* attached to almost every mosque, where the boys and girls of the neighbourhood received elementary education from the Mullah.

188 Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, pp. 485-86.

189 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 299.

Some of the Muslim rulers of the earlier period did much towards the diffusion of education throughout the country. Thus King Kutb Shah of the Golkonda Sultanate encouraged education by the foundation of colleges and public seminaries and by his patronage of learned men. Mahmud Gawan's richly endowed college at Bidar is a famous example of patronage of education in the Bahmani Kingdom. Emperor Husain Shah of Bengal was a great patron of learning. He founded a college as a memorial to the famous saint Qutbul Alam.[190] Jaunpur was an important seat of learning. Adil Shah of Bijapur was a good scholar and invited learned men to his court from Persia, Turkistan and Rum.[191] Such instances may easily be multiplied.

The Timurid rulers of India from 1526—1707 were all patrons of literature, and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made important contributions towards its many-sided development. Babar was himself a man of fine literary accomplishments and was a well-versed and critical scholar in Arabic, Persian and Turki. He was the author of several Turki poems, of a work on prosody and a few other smaller books. His *Memoirs*[192] written in Turki, though these contain some historical inaccuracies, possess high literary grace and quality. Dr. N. N. Law has written on the authority of *Tawarikh* of Sayyid Maqbar Ali, a minister of Babar, "that the Public Works Department (Shuhrat-i-Am) of the time, which continued through the reigns of the succeeding Mughal emperors, was entrusted, among other duties, with that of conducting postal service, the publication of a Gazette and the building of schools and colleges."[193] Humayun had a taste

190 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 113.

191 Law, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, p. 92.

192 Humayun transcribed these with his own hands and the Khan-i-Khanan translated these accurately into Persian under the orders of Akbar. They were first rendered into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826, and into French in 1871. Mrs. Beveridge has brought out a revised edition.

193 *Promotion of Learning, etc.*, p. 127.

for the study of books, for discussing literary subjects with learned men and for composing verses. He loved to read astronomy and geography, and was so fond of books that he always 'carried a select library' with him and it was on his library steps that he met with his fatal accident. Jauhar, the famous author of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* (Private Memoirs of Humayun), was his servant. Humayun built a *madrasah* at Delhi and transformed the pleasure-house built by Sher Shah in the Purana qilah into a library.[194]

"Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges."[195] He made some changes in the methods of study in the curriculum, etc., the good results of which made Abul Fazl declare that "all civilised nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindusthan is particularly famous for its seminaries."[196] He also established some new educational institutions.

A number of scholars flourished and produced literary works of interest and importance under Akbar's patronage. He encouraged the learned by granting rewards and stipends. Madhavacharya, a Bengali poet of Triveni, contemporary with Akbar, speaks of him in his *Chandi-Mangal* in terms of regard as a patron of letters.[197] The *Tabaqati-Akbari* has noted the names of ninety-five learned men and poets who received encouragement from the emperor.[198]

The Persian literature of Akbar's reign may be classified as (1) histories, (2) translations, (3) letters and verse. The important historical works of the reign are the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, the *Akbarnamah* of Faizi Sarhindi, the *Nasir-i-Rahimi*, prepared

194 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

195 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

196 Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, pp. 278-79.

197 D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 336.

198 Law, *Promotion of Learning, etc.*, pp. 168-69. *Vide* also Blochmann's *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 537 ff.

under the patronage of Abdur Rahim Khani-i-Khanan. Abul Fazl was the most accomplished and famous of all those writers.

Many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian or Hindi. Different sections of the *Mahabharata* were translated into Persian by Naqib Khan, Mulla Sheri and Sultan Haji Thaneswari and Abdul Qadir Badaoni and the translation was called *Razm-Namah*. Abdul Qadir Badaoni completed the translation of the *Ramayana* in 1589 A.D. after a labour of four years. The *Atharvaveda* was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, the *Lilavati*, a work on Mathematics, by Faizi, the *Tajak*, a treatise on astronomy, by Mukammal Khan Gujrati, the *Waqiati-Babar* in Turkish by Rahim the Khan-i-Khanan, and the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahbadi.[199] Certain Greek and Arabic works were also translated.

There were many poets or versifiers in Akbar's court. Abul Fazl writes: "Thousands of poets are continually at Court, and many among them have completed a *diwan* or have written a *masnawi*." Dr. Smith does not believe in the presence of any excellence in the works of many of them and writes that "many of the persons who claimed the honourable name of poet had no better claim to that title than the composer of acrostics for a magazine has."[200] But there were some, the merit of whose works cannot be ignored. In the domain of verse, Ghizali, who was a native of Persia and secured imperial patronage in India after various vicissitudes of fortune in his native land, in the Deccan and at Jaunpur, occupied the first place. He remained as Akbar's Poet-Laureate till 1572, and his famous works are the *Mirat-ul-Kainat, Naqsh-i-Badid,* and *Israr-i-Maktub*. Another great scholar and writer was Faizi, son of Shaikh Mubarak and brother of Abul Fazl. He was also the Emperor's Poet-Laureate for some time. He was an erudite scholar of Arabic literature, possessed a fine art of writing poetry and was

199 Law, pp. 147—50.

200 *Akbar*, p. 416.

besides well acquainted with the science of medicine. His famous works are *Masnawi Nal-o-Daman, Markaz-i-Adwar, Mawarid-ul-Kalam,* and *Sawati-ul-Ilham,* which is an Arabic commentary on the Quran. Other famous poets were Muhammad Husain Naziri of Nishapur, who wrote *ghazals* of exceptional merit, and Saiyyid Jamaluddin Urfi of Shiraz, who was the best writer of *Qasidas* in his time.

Jahangir, though inferior to his father, was also possessed of some literary taste. He was educated by tutors like Maulana Mir Kalan Muhaddis and Abdul-Rahim Mirza. He knew Persian as well as Turki, which enabled him to read the *Memoirs of Babar* in the original. He promulgated a regulation in his dominions that " whenever a well-to-do man or a rich traveller died without any heir, his property would escheat to the Crown and be utilized for building and repairing *madrasahs,* monasteries, etc."[201] It is noted in the *Tarikhi-Jan-Jahan* that after his accession to the throne, Jahangir " repaired even those madrasahs that had for thirty years been the dwelling places of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors."[202] Among the learned men of his court, of which the *Iqbal-Namah-i-Jahangiri* has given a comprehensive list, may be mentioned here Ghiyas Beg, Naqib Khan, Mutamad Khan, Niamatullah and Abdul Haqq Dihlawi. The *Masir-i-Jahangiri,* the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawarikh* and several other historical works were compiled during Jahangir's reign.

Shahjahan, though his name is better known for his magnificence, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors in educational activities. In his early youth he was educated in Turki, in which language he spoke and wrote fluently. He spent some time at night for his own studies[203] and encouraged learned men by rewards and stipends.[204] He founded an Imperial College at Delhi near the famous Jami Masjid and

201 Law, p. 175.

202 Quoted in *Ibid.*

203 Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays,* p. 174.

204 Law, p. 183.

repaired the college named *Dar-ul-Baqa* (Abode of Eternity) which had been almost ruined.[205] Among the learned men of his time were Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of the *Padshah-namah,* Amin Qazwini, author of another *Padshahnamah,* Inayat Khan, author of the *Shahjahannamah,* and Muhammad Salih, author of the *Amal Salih,* all of whom supply us with numerous facts about the history of Shahjahan's reign. Prince Dara was a good scholar, well versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and deeply interested in philosophical and religious studies. Like Akbar he was imbued with the liberal doctrines of Sufism and tried to unite the discordant religious elements within the state. Under his inspiration, the *Upanishads,* the *Bhagawat Gita,* and the *Yoga Vasistha Ramayana* were translated into Persian, and he was the author of a number of works, the chief of which are *Safinat-ul-Auliya,* a biography of the saints of Islam, the *Sakinat-ul-Auliya,* an account of the Indian saint Mian Mir, and his disciples, the *Majma-ul-Bahrain,* " a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu Pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology," and some works on sufism named the *Nadir-ul-Nukat,* the *Hasanat-ul-Arifin* and the *Risalah-i-Haqnuma.*[206]

Being an orthodox Sunni, Aurangzeb destroyed Hindu schools and temples, but he encouraged the education of Muhammadan youths in various ways. Mr. Keene writes that he " founded numberless colleges and schools."[207] He caused the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri,* a digest of Islamic laws, by eminent jurists of his kingdom under the supervision of Mulla Nizam. Though he was opposed to the writing of histories of his reign and the important historical work *Muntakhab-ul-Lubub* of Khafi Khan was written secretly, yet we have got a few other histories of his reign, such as the *Alamgirnamah,* the *Masir-i-Alamgiri,* the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai Khattri, the *Nushka-i-Dilkhusa* of Bhimsen and the *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwar Das. Some of

205 *Ibid.,* p. 182.

206 *Ibid.,* p. 186.

207 *Mughal Empire,* p. 23.

the best Marathi works on history were written during this period.

Female education was not unknown to the age. In Akbar's time " regular training was given to the ladies of the royal household."[208] Gulbadan Begum, a daughter of Babar, was a learned lady and wrote the *Humayunnamah,* which is a source book for the history of Humayun's reign. Salima Sultana (Salima Begum), daughter of Humayun's other sister Gulrukh, Maham Anagà. Nurjahan, Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara Begum and Zeb-un-Nisa, were all educated ladies, deeply interested in art and literature.[209] Most of the lady tutors in Muslim princely and aristocratic families came from Persia[210] and this partly explains the growth of Persian influence in court-circles. Court ladies of these times are known to have maintained correspondence with scholars and theologians of note. But the masses of the Muslim womenfolk (even amongst middle classes) did not share in such liberal education.

This period was also marked by a brilliant outburst of vernacular literature. As we have already noted, this was intimately connected with the religious reformation movements that had begun some time ago, and which were characterised by a grand catholicity of sentiment and the teachers of which had to write in a tongue ' understanded of the people.'[211] Kabir did much towards the growth of Hindi poetry ; his *dohas* and *saḳhis,* permeated with a deep religious fervour, are brilliant productions of Hindu Literature. After 1526 the first important writer was Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1540 A.D.), who wrote ' the fine philosophic epic entitled the *Padmawat,*' which gives the story of Padmini, the Queen of Mewar, in an allegoric setting.

" With Malik Muhammad the period of the apprentice-ship of vernacular literature in Hidusthan may be said to

208 Law, p. 202.

209 Reference may be made to Mr. B. N. Banerjee's ' *Mughal Yuge Strīśiḳṣhā.*'

210 *E.g.,* Sati-un-nisa, tutor of Jahanara.

211 *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan,* by George A. Grierson, p. xix.

have come to a close " and " the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the Augustan age of Hindusthani vernacular literature."[212] The glories and peace, which Akbar had secured for the country, exercised a stimulating influence on the minds of the people, and, as in contemporary England, genius unfolded itself in various branches. Moreover, his interest in Hindi poetry and patronage of poets and singers also gave a great impetus to the cause of Hindi Literature. Some of his courtiers like Raja Bhagwan Das, Raja Man Singh and Birbal were poets of no mean reputation. Birbal received the title of Kavi Ray from the emperor, but the most famous Hindi poet among his courtiers was Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, whose *dohas* are read with interest and pleasure even now. Karan, Harinath, Ganj and Narahari were also important poets ; the last of them received from the emperor the title of Mahapatra.

The bulk of the poetical literature of the time had a religious tone formed either by the Krishna cult or the Rama cult. It was in Brajbhumi (roughly the Jamuna Valley), where the Krishna cult had taken the strongest root, that many poets of the former school flourished in the sixteenth century. Of the eight disciples of Vallabhacharya and his son Bitthal Nath, grouped under the name of Ashtachhap, Krishnadas and Surdas were the most famous ones. Surdas, ' the blind bard of Agra,' has described in his *Sursagar* the sports of Krishna in his early life, and he composed numerous verses on the beauty and love of Radha and Krishna. Nand Das, author of the *Ras-panchadhyayi,* Vitthal Nath, author of the *Chaurasi Vaishnava ki varta* in prose, Paramananda Das, Kumbhan Das and Ras Khan, a Muslim disciple of Vitthal Nath and author of *Premavartika* (1614 A.D.), were the other important poets of this school.

Tulsidas, living in Benares " unapproachable and alone in his niche in the temple of Fame," was the greatest of the northern poets, who popularised the cult of Rama. Besides his high qualities as a poet, he was one of the most influential

[212] Compare the Elizabethan Age in England.

spiritual teachers of the people of Hindusthan. The most famous of his works, known as *Ramacharitamanasa* or 'The Pool of Rama's Life', which has been described by Sir George Grierson as 'the one Bible of a hundred millions of people' of Hindusthan, was not simply a brilliant specimen of Hindi Literature, but it was in fact a code of ethics inculcating on his countrymen the virtues of love, obedience and affection. Tulsidas' memory is worshipped by millions in Northern India. Mr. Growse has rightly remarked in his translation of the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas that "the book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu Community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old."[213] Sir George Grierson writes of Tulsidas: "One of the greatest reformers and one of the greatest poets that India has produced to the present writer he is, in both characters, the greatest—he disdained to found a church, and contented himself with telling his fellow-countrymen how to work out each his own salvation amongst his own kith and kin."[214] Another writer of importance was Nabhaji, the author of *Bhaktamala*, which speaks of the lives of the principal devotees and saints both of the Rama and Krishna cults.

"This Augustan age was not only a period of the erotic poetry of Surdas and of the nature poetry of Tulsi, but was also signalised by the first attempts to systematize the art of poetry itself."[215] The most famous of these writers was Kesava Das (1580 A.D.), a Sanadhya Brahman of Orcha, who laid down the rules of poetic criticism, which are read with interest even now. His important works are *Kavi Priya*, a treatise on the art of writing poetry, *Rama Chandrika*, a story of the life of Rama, *Rasik Priya*, treating of poetical composition, *Alankrit Manjari*, a work on prosody. Some writers of Hindi poetry like Sundar, Senapati, and the Tripathi brothers flourished during the reign of Shahjahan.

213 Quoted in Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindusthan*, p. xx.

214 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 418.

215 Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature, etc.*, p. xx.

During this period Bengal also witnessed a luxuriant growth of literary activities in various phases. The Vaishnava Literature of Bengal in its different branches such as the *kaḍchas* or notes, the biographical sketches of Chaitanya Dev and the *padas,* songs, preached love and liberalism to the people of Bengal and has preserved for us valuable materials for studying the history of Bengali Society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Govindadas wrote his *kaḍcha* or notes of Sri Chaitanya's doings during the early part of the sixteenth century ; Krishnadas Kaviraj, born in 1517 A.D. of a poor Vaidya family of Jhamalpur, in Burdwan, wrote his *Chaitanyacharitamrita* which is the most important af the biographies of Chaitanya Dev ; Brindavan Das, born in 1507 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Bhagvata* which is a standard work on the life of Sri Chaitanya and is full of valuable information regarding contemporary Bengali Society ; Jayananda, born in 1513 A.D., wrote his *Chaitanya Mangal,* which gives some new facts about Chaitanya's life ; Trilochan Das, born in 1523 at Kogram, a village thirty miles to the north of Burdwan, wrote another *Chaitanya Mangal,* a biography of Chaitanya Dev, which enjoys great popularity ; and Narahari Chakravarty wrote his *Bhaktiratnakar* which is a voluminous biography of Chaitanya Dev divided into fifteen chapters and is next in importance to the work of Krishna Das Kaviraj. There were numerous other works dealing with the incidents of Chaitanya Dev's life and of the lives of the Vaishnava devotees like Nityananda (born in 1473 A.D.), Advait Acharya (1434—1557 A.D.) and others. Besides these, various translations of the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagvata, the Chandi, and works in honour of the Chandi Devi and the Manasa Devi were produced during this period. The most important of these works were the *Kavikankan Chandi* of Mukundaram Chakravarty and the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das, which are even now as popular in Bengal as the work of Tulsidas in Upper India.[216] " Mukundarama was not given

[216] We know from our personal experience that in many villages of Bengal people read with deep reverence the *Kavikankan Chandi* of

to idealism ; he depicted what he saw with his own eyes. One who reads his poems closely will find the Bengali home of the sixteenth century mirrored in his pages. They are full of realistic interest. It is for the reality of his description that Prof. Cowell calls him the Crabbe of Bengal and Dr. Grierson speaks of his poetry ' as coming from the heart and not from the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power."[217]

Valuable and important books were carefully collected. Babar and Humayun were fond of books and Akbar ' collected an enormous library of extraordinary pecuniary value.'[218] It was full of beautiful manuscript works, as Akbar did not care for books printed by the Jesuits in presses at Goa and Rachol and also presented to him by some of them. The library was properly managed and books were classed under sciences and arts.[219] After Faizi's death 4,300 manuscripts were transferred from his library to the imperial library, where they were catalogued in three sections. The first section contained works on poetry, medicine, astrology and music ; the second philology, philosophy, sufism, astronomy and geometry and the third, commentaries, traditions, theology and law.[220]

Elegant penmanship or the art of calligraphy was greatly encouraged.[221] The *Ain-i-Akbari* has preserved a list of the famous penmen in Akbar's Court. The most renowned

Mukundaram in the time of bad rains, and instances of old village-folk spending their time after mid-day meals over the study of the *Mahabharata* of Kasi Ram Das and the *Ramayana* of Krittivas (which belongs to an earlier date and which has been rightly described by Dr. D. C. Sen as ' the Bible of the people of the Gangetic Valley ') are not rare.

217 D. C. Sen's History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 336.

218 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 424.

219 Law, p. 151.

220 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

221 Old specimens of calligraphy are preserved in many of the private families at Patna. Some of these were exhibited by us before the Indian Historical Records Commission, Thirteenth Session at Patna, December, 1930.

writer of *nastaliq* in Akbar's court was Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who received the title of *Zarrinqalam* (' Gold-pen ').

In spite of disorder and confusion following the death of Aurangzeb, the later Mughal period cannot be regarded as entirely barren in the history of education. Bahadur Shah was well educated and loved the society of learned men. Two colleges were established during his reign at Delhi, one being founded by Ghaziuddin and the other by Khan Firuz Jang.[222] In the time of Muhammad Shah a great impetus was given to scientific education, especially astronomy, by Jai Singh, Raja of Amber, who founded observatories not only in Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura and Benares, but also in Delhi.[223] In 1722 Nawab Saraf-ud-doulah of Oudh built a *madrasah* and a mosque close to each other.[224] After Nadir Shah had carried away with him the Imperial Library at Delhi, the imperial family continued to collect books, which formed a good library in the time of Shah Alam II.[225] Husain Reza Khan, the minister of Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh, established a *madrasah* at Farrukhabad during the reign of Shah Alam.[226]

In Bengal, we find that Nawab Murshid Quli " possessed very extensive learning and paid great respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition ; he wrote with great elegance, and was a remarkably fine penman."[227] The author of the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*[228] has noted his zeal for transcribing the Quoran and sending transcribed copies of it to various places outside India. Nawab Allahvardi greatly encouraged learning by inviting to his court number of learned men, whose names have been mentioned by the author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, from different quarters.[229] The same author

222 Law, p. 194.
223 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.
224 *Ibid.*, p. 197.
225 *Ibid.*, p. 198.
226 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
227 Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 408
228 P. 279.
229 Vol. II, pp. 165—85.

notes some instances about Mir Casim's patronage of learning.[230]

Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia was a great patron of art and letters, and his court was adorned by a number of scholars. In order to encourage the cultivation of Sanskrit learning, he fixed a monthly allowance of Rs. 200 to be paid as stipends to students who should come from distant places to study in the *tols* of Nadia. It was under his patronage that Bharatchandra wrote his *Annadamangala*, and Ramaprasada Sena wrote his *Kalikirtana* under the encouragement of Rajakishora Mukhopadhyaya, a relative of Raja Krishnachandra. But there was no organised system of public higher education ; it depended entirely upon private initiative and private arrangements. One Dvija Bhavani compiled his *Ramayana* in the court of a *zamindar* named Jayachandra living near about Noakhali (East Bengal) with a remuneration at the rate of Rs. 10 per day.[231] We find in the *Riyaz-us-salatin*,[232] that " Asadullah, *zamindar* of Birbhum, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as *Madad-i-mash* grants on learned, pious and saintly persons." In Maharashtra also there was no department of public instruction, but " learning was indirectly encouraged by *Dakshina* grants to scholars."[233] The Peshwas maintained libraries of their own and tried to procure old manuscripts or copies of these.[234]

Education of women was not unknown. The two daughters of Jan Muhammad (a converted Hindu), father of the well-known Koki Jiu, were " sent to school and all obtained some proficiency in letters."[235] Koki Jiu ' excelled her

230 Vol. II, pp. 432—34.

231 K. K. Datta, '*Educational Ideas and Institutions in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*,' *Journal of the League of Educationists*, Bihar and Orissa, 1929.

232 P. 257 (English translation by A. S. B.).

233 Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, p. 471.

234 *Ibid.*, p. 472.

235 Irvine, Vol. II, p. 264.

brothers in handwriting and composition.' In Bengal we notice several instances of educated women. The wives of Raja Navakrishna were widely known for being able to read ; Anandamayi, the niece of the poet Jaynarayan, was herself a poetess of fair repute.[236] The author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* has remarked that Muhammadi Beg, the murderer of Siraj-ud-dowla, " had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin, in whose education that unfortunate grandmother (i.e., Begam of Allahvardi) had taken pleasure."[237]

Art and architecture in mediæval and early modern India can hardly be classified as " Pathan " or " Mughal," or characterised profitably as " Indo-Moslem." There was no such thing as a new Pathan architecture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for the Lodis and the Surs were not strikingly original or mighty and prolific builders ; only Sikandar revived Agra (Sikandra), and Sher has certain structures to his credit at Sahsaram and elsewhere. The rest of the so-called ' Indo-Moslem ' architecture cannot be placed in any single class—for distinct style developed in different localities and times. This was due on the one hand to the existence of a number of Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina styles in the country, while Islam was advancing in successive stages into the country from about the middle of the seventh to that of the fourteenth century—and on the other to the fact that there was never a single Islamic style of architecture, distinct styles developing by the Islamization of pre-existing Asiatic, African and European art (as in Damascus or Samarkhand, Egypt and Constantinople), each in itself combining several threads of earlier art tradition. Thus what we should understand by ' Indo-Moslem ' art is just this that the carriers of Islam—Arabs, Persians, Turks or Mongols—brought the art of various parts of Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Eastern and South-Western Europe into touch with

236 K. K. Datta, *' Educational Ideas and Institutions in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' Journal of the League of Educationists,* Bihar and Orissa, 1929.

237 Vol. II, p. 242.

the many indigenous systems of art in the different parts of India, and thereby led to the growth of fresh ' Indian ' styles, like the Jaunpuri, the Bijapuri, the Guzrati, etc. What we usually call Mughal art and architecture is nothing else but the continued growth of these fresh Indian styles in a somewhat modified setting. Just as the developments in religion and literature in the early Mughal period cannot be characterised as Mughal, but are the continuations of the Renaissance and Reformation that marked the coming of the modern age in India, so also are the fine arts and architecture of the same period a sequel to that great general awakening of culture. The music that the Mughal court began to patronise was the renaissant Vaishnava music ; the talents and traditions utilised by the Mughal court connoisseurs of painting were those of Rajputana and the Himalayan States ; and the civil architecture of the Rajput capitals, the stately domes and minars of the Deccan States, and the " frozen lace " of Gujrat, served as models and inspirations for the edifices of the adjoining new northern empire.

To understand the so-called ' Mughal ' art and architecture, therefore, it is necessary to see what was already growing in the country before the Chagtai dominion in India became well established in its course of development (about 1565).

Between 1400 and 1476, during the reigns of Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain Sharqi, a new Hindu-Moslem architecture grew up in Oudh (Jaunpur), whose chief feature of massive sloping walls, as in the case of many Tughlaq buildings of the previous century, was a Hindu one, as was also the feature of square pillars—though in the time of Ibrahim there was a general persecution of Hindus ; in fact, much of the new constructions was re-building the destroyed Hindu temples for a new purpose.

The sites of some of the ancient Hindu cities of Bengal were re-peopled during the early Muhammadan rule ; thus the extensive ruins of Gaur and Pandua supplied materials for later edifices of a mixed Hindu-Moslem type : Sikandar built the huge Adina mosque of 400 domes at Pandua in 1368 ;

Husain Shah's Lesser Golden mosque and his tomb were built between 1493 and 1518, and the Great Golden mosque and the Kadam Rasul mosque of Nusrat Shah between 1518 and 1532 ; the peculiarity of the ' Gaur ' style (widespread in Bengal cities of those days) consisted in the main use of bricks, the subsidiary use of stone, the use of pointed arches on short pillars, and the Moslem adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs, like the Lotus. Apart from Muslim adaptations, the mediæval Hindu architectural styles of North and East India, known to art critics as the Nāgara styles, were continued unalloyed even in much later times ; the Visvesvara temple at Benares, the funeral chapels at Gwalior, the Jugalkishor and the Madanmohan at Brindaban, the religious buildings, ghâts and temples of Ahalya Bai in various towns of Northern India are examples of such continuity of art tradition down to the close of the eighteenth century.

In Orissa, which became an expanding imperial power under Kapilendra's dynasty (c. 1450—c.1560), the earlier mediæval art represented by the buildings of the Eastern Gangās (*e.g.*, at Jagannath and Konarak) was continued, as is shown in the Sakshigopal temple near Puri, and the ' bhoga-mandapa ' an addition to the Jagannath temple under Purushottama. On the whole, it may be said that the Orissa art of these days degenerated into coarse vulgarity, while other contemporary art movements were producing things of beauty and refinement—just as in the sphere of religious movements side by side with reformations of sterling merit we also find the growth of some degenerate Vaishnava sects with immoral practices.[238]

In Malwa, Hoshang Shah Ghori, 1405—'32, removed the seat of his government from the Hindu capital Dhārā (vatī) to

238 In fact, the rapid deterioration of the Chaitanya movement in Orissa helped the Orissan artistic decline considerably. This vulgarity was partly inherited and continued from the latest forms of Tantrikism.

Mandu, where a magnificent architecture grew up derived from the older examples. There Mahmud Khalji set up his seven-storied Tower of Victory to rival Rana Kumbha's at Chitor, 1436—69. The fortified city of Mandu, on hills overlooking the Narmada, had walls about twenty-five miles long and massive buildings of great architectural merit, amongst whom may be noted a splendid Jami Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaj Mahal, Hoshang's tomb, and Baz Bahadur and Rupmati's palaces (1531); many of these buildings were of sandstone and marble (like the later 'Mughal' ones), and a number of them were subsequently repaired and used by the admiring Jahangir in 1617.

In Guzrat also the new capital Ahmadabad was built in 1411—41 close to the old Hindu city of Asawal out of the ruins of its destroyed temples and buildings. The incomparable beauty and splendour of this great new city (with a population of about nine lakhs) consisted in the use of very fine wood-carving in the buildings and also of delicate stone lattices and ornaments, best described as "frozen lace," and surpassing what Agra produced later on; these special features, and the designs thereof, were mainly Moslem adaptations from the older Hindu and Jaina art with very little change: the features and the craftsmen were the same, only the figure work was omitted owing to Muslim requirements. The mediæval architectural styles of Guzrat, South Rajputana and N.-W. Deccan, which are classified traditionally as the Vesara styles, were continued in the Kīrti-stambhas of our period, as in the Tower of Kumbha (1440—48), in the succession of Jaina temples of Girnar and Satrunjaya (thirteen to nineteenth centuries), and in the Ahmedabad style. In fact, in the Guzrat and Kathiawar area the Hindu-Jaina forms and the derivative Moslem forms survived side by side, and the former have by no means yet died out.

In the Farukhi principality of Khandesh, while the rock-fort architecture (as illustrated in that wonder of the age, the fortress of Asirgarh) was of the same type as that further south in the Bahmani Kingdom, the mosque architecture (as shown in Alikhan's Mosque at the capital Burhanpur, 1588) showed

the influence of the Guzrat style in its fine stone-carvings in perfect taste.

Rajput civil architecture from the fifteenth century to the present day is a continuous growth of extraordinary grandeur and beauty, in which is to be seen the original type, of which the Mughal buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were imitations and Moslem adaptations. Thus the Fatehpur-Sikri buildings are almost purely Hindu and Rajput in character, adapted to Moslem requirements,—which is only to be expected, since from 1561 to 1611 the Mughal Empire was mainly under Rajput influence, just as it was under Persian and other West Asiatic influences predominantly from the middle of the seventeenth century, while in the intervening period Rajput and Persian influences were blended or contending. The Mughal palaces of the seventeenth century are better known to tourists and writers, and are more intricately and lavishly ornamented (owing to greater expenditure), but their Rajput prototypes are of greater monumental dignity.

Amongst early Rajput examples are the Chitor and Gwalior palaces, the latter begun under Man Singh in the fifteenth century and completed in the seventeenth. The Jodhpur fort-palace with huge bastions was planned in the fifteenth century and added to for two centuries more. The Bikaner fort and palace examples are even earlier than the fifteenth century. The Udaipur buildings and island-palaces, 1600—1740, are unique even amongst the striking Rajput styles. The Amber palaces and Ajmer lake-pavilions, of the seventeenth century, show the Rajput art touched with the Mughal Court fashions. The somewhat later buildings of Jaipur, of the Benares Ghats, of the Maheshwar and Ujjaini Ghats, of Bulandshahr, Mathura, etc., as well as the more modern Rajput royal mausoleums—even Rajput railway stations like that of Alwar—are all continuations of the same architecture begun in early fifteenth century with the Hindu political and religious revival in Rajputana in the same century.

A distinct and remarkable school of stone architecture developed in Vijaynagar, with all possible embellishments

from the sister arts of sculpture and painting. Though hardly anything of the paintings have survived,[239] enough remains of monuments and sculptures in ruins to enable us to form critical estimates. A full comparative study of Vijaynagar art has not yet been made, but it is likely to prove very instructive as showing the origins of many features in the succeeding art of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This much, however, is clear that Vijaynagar (1336—1565) represents the revived mediæval civilization of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra (sacked in 1327) and the Kakatiyas of Warangal (sacked in 1323 and conquered finally in 1423), and a reaction against the Muslim occupation and devastation of the Peninsula. Hence naturally we find a comparatively unmixed Hindu art in this region on traditional lines continued from the middle ages. Thus at Belur, Abdur Razzak (1443) saw one of the chief Vijaynagar temples too wonderful for description, which appears to be the same as the Hoysala King Bittiga's original work of 1117 with some later adaptations (still standing).

At the same time, among mediæval Hindu states Vijaynagar was first and for long in contact with the Portuguese (and Spaniards and Italians) and the outer world, Eastern and Western ; Africa, Arabia, Iran and Central Asia were within the range of her Western trade through Calicut, Goa and other ports ; while her Eastern trade and spheres of influence brought Ceylon, the East Indies, Indo-China and China itself close to her. Thus Buddhagupta, a Buddhist missionary of Vijaynagar, travelled in the latter half of the sixteenth century from the East and South coasts and islands of Africa to the East Indies on trading ships ; about the middle of the fifteenth century Taimur's son, Shah Rukh of Samarkhand, sent an embassy to the Samuri (Zamorin) of Calicut and to his suzerain the Vijaynagar Emperor, for arranging favourable trade relations ; and Bukka in 1374 sent a similar embassy to China, to the Ming Emperor Tai-tsun ; at the same time through wars and

239 Contemporary Portuguese and Timuride (Persian-Mughal) description shows their high level of skill.

peace and royal marriages the Muslim states of the northern Peninsula affected Vijaynagar so far that Muslim mosques were constructed there by Vijaynagar architects in the time of Firuz and Alauddin II Bahmani (1397—1457), while the Kulbarga mosque of Firuz (1397—1422), the only large mosque in India completely roofed, apparently owed this peculiarity to the example of the capacious temples of Vijaynagar where Firuz had married in 1406. From such manifold and prolonged outside relations, therefore, a certain measure of external influences might be expected to have worked on Vijaynagar art ; but no detailed and critical studies have yet been made as to the extent of European, Persian or Chinese elements in the once flourishing Vijaynagar school of painting, or as to the Persian or Central Asiatic influence upon Vijaynagar palace gardens with laid-out water courses flowing through channels of cut and polished stone[240] or as to the influence of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese art on the molten brass temples, carved ivory palace-chambers with floral designs on ivory pillars and beams,[241] painted large-sized stone-carved figures of lions and other ferocious animals lining some of the streets,[242] or the epic scenes on bas-relief on the walls of temples and palaces.[243] It can, however, be easily realised that Vijaynagar art was a great living stream, deriving its main current from mediæval South Indian tradition and its tributaries from many directions and distant regions, with its fertilizing overflow reaching other parts of contemporary India, and a shrunken bed still with a flow in the art of Madura, where, upon the overthrow of the last Vijaynagar empire after Shah Jahan's time, the Nayaks of Madura became important, and Tirumala raised the structures noted for dignity and splendour of plan and execution. The mediæval Drāviḍa group of styles continued not only in the Vijaynagar, Tāḍpatri, and other

240 As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

241 As seen by Paes in 1522.

242 As seen by Abdur Razzak in 1443.

243 E.g., in Krishna Deva Raya's royal chapel the Rama Svami temple, 1513.

varieties down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, but also in the buildings of Madura from the seventeenth century onwards even to the present day, and in the revived Kandy style of the eighteenth century featuring the use of both stone and timber.

Throughout Indian Oceanic regions (from South Africa to Polynesia) Indian architecture, sculpture, etc., flourished as an Indian colonial art up to *c.* 800 A.D., then as local classical art of Indian stamp up to *c.* 1200, whereafter Indian elements became less and less ; but even then in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, through overseas connections, specially of Vijaynagar, those specimens of Greater Indian art and architecture must have been well known to contemporary Indians (*cf.* Buddhagupta's travels, and the Indo-Chinese plans of several-storeyed early Mughal buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri and Sikandra). The Hindu revival from the fourteenth century, which started from the South, must have derived something of its force and sustenance from the Hindu world still surviving beyond the Southern Seas.

For two centuries, till 1565, Vijaynagar stood a city of wonders in the realm of art and architecture. Her kings were builders not only of gorgeous palaces and temples, but also of strong fortresses and immense irrigation and water-supply works. Bukka II (1399—1406) enlarged Vijaynagar fortifications, and constructed the huge Tungabhadra river dam and reservoir for water-supply to the capital city by a fifteen-mile-long aqueduct excavated in solid rock for a good part of it. Firuz Bahmani and Deva Raya's daughter's marriage procession passed along a six-mile city road lined with rich shops on either side. Nicolo Conti, the Italian, found the circumference of Vijaynagar city to be about sixty miles in 1420, with fortifications carried right up to the adjacent hills. The buildings of the city were judged by the Timuride ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443 to be such as the eye has not seen nor the ear heard of anything like them in any other city in the world : it had seven concentric fort walls, the inmost fortress being ten times bigger than the central portion of Herat (then the capital of the Timuride empire of Mesopotamia, Persia and Central

Asia); there were rows of lofty archways[244] and galleries in them at the entrance of each of the many *bazars* of the city. Paes in 1522 estimated Vijaynagar as large as Rome, and having a population of over six lakhs; he counted thirty-four streets within the palace area alone.

After the sack of Vijaynagar (1565), its artists and craftsmen must have been scattered far and migrated in large numbers to more northern courts; and just as the religious and literary revival originating in the South "flew the Vindhyas" and produced similar revivals in the North, so also it is perhaps to the destruction of the capital of Vijaynagar that the artistic impetus of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Northern India was largely due.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Bahmani kings destroyed a large number of mediæval Hindu temples and priestly colleges of the Deccan, and built Muslim mosques, etc., on their sites with the materials of the ruins;[245] thus the renowned temple of Kondapalli near Bezwada in the East Coast was destroyed by Muhammad Shah III in 1481 and a mosque was built on and out of it; the great temple-fortress at Kanchi (within Vijaynagar) was also sacked in 1481, with its walls and roofs covered by gold-plating and decorative designs in precious stones[246] and its fortifications. It is to be expected, therefore, that Bahmani art was based on that of the preceding Yadavas of Deogiri, and of the more or less contemporary Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the empires of Orissa and Vijaynagar; to this basis were added Turkish and Egyptian elements through West Asiatic and African adventurers who found employment in the newly-growing Muslim state of the

244 This shows that arches and archways were not Indo-Saracenic introductions.

245 This was a continuation of the early Muhammadan (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) way of destroying Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist buildings, with materials of which were built Masjids: e.g., Kutb Minar of Delhi, Ādhāi-din-ki-jhompṛā of Ajmer, Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad, Kamal Maula Masjid at Dhar, Jami Masjids of Patan, Bharoch and Cambay, Rajghat Masjid of Benares, Zafar Khan's mosque of Tribeni (Bengal).

246 It is possible that we have here the prototype of the gold-plating and precious-stone inlaying work of Mughal architecture.

Bahmanis, as also a well-marked Persian element introduced in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Persian emigrants.

The early buildings of the first capital Kulbarga (the fortress of which was razed to the ground by Krishna Deva Raya) were massive and gloomy and of rough execution. The unique completely roofed mosque of Firuz has already been noted as apparently a reflection of Vijaynagar style ;[247] Firuz also built the fortified palace of Firuzabad on the Bhīmā, south of Kulbarga. In the time of Ahmad Shah (1422—35) the final conquest of the Hindu Kingdom of Warangal put its resources and art traditions at the disposal of the Bahmanis, and henceforward design and workmanship became more polished, as exemplified in the new capital of Bidar (1430),—an ancient commanding hill-fort of great natural grandeur, further enhanced by colossal lines of stone fortifications, with regular broad streets and efficient water-supply. In fact the Bahmani fortresses,—which are regarded as their greatest and most abiding monuments, surpassing European fortresses of the same period (*cir.* 1350—1500), are but Bahmani restorations of earlier Hindu ones, which however do the rebuilders great credit. Gawilgarh and Narnala in Berar are examples of engineering and architecture appropriate for mountain strongholds, with good taste and lavish expenditure combined,—the elegant stone-carving of the Fort Gate at Narnala being still in good preservation ; military science is well displayed in the forts of Ausa and Parenda ; the huge fort-guns were made of welded and riveted iron-bars. The reconstructive works at these two forts and also at the forts of Sholapur, Darūr, etc., were directed by the great minister Mahmud Gawan (1457—81), a Persian emigrant,—who also endowed and built the famous college of Bidar (destroyed by Aurangzeb's wars), and under whose patronage the favourite Persian (rather Mongolo-Persian)[248] decoration by enamelled tiles was

247 According to Haig, the mosque cannot be a copy from Cordova.

248 The decorative use of enamelled tiles was re-introduced from the Chinese world and made prominent in Persia (after the long-past Achamenian days) by the Mongol dynasty of Chengiz Khan that ruled Meso-

much used at that new Bahmani capital (much earlier than at Mughal centres).

Of the Bahmanide offshoots only Golconda, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur developed the inherited Bahmani art further on fresh lines. The new Muslim state of Golconda was more or less identical with the old Hindu one of Warangal (Orukkal—'the unequalled rock-fortress'), incorporated into the parent Bahmani Kingdom six or seven decades ago; hence its architecture was a Kākatiya derivative. The Kutb Shahi capital was early transferred from Orukkal to Golconda, and in less than seventy years it was again moved to adjacent Bhagnagar (Hyderabad) towards the close of the sixteenth century; after another century it came under the influence of the Mughal art of the North. Golconda, now unoccupied except by guards, is noted for the Kutb Shahi tombs[249] built of granite and with narrow-necked and almost circular domes (an accentuated and Islamised form of the older top-*āmalaka* of temples); this rather peculiar local style was also imitated in some Bijapur mausoleums, and it is possible that the masterly slight bulge beyond the base line given to domes in Bijapur art is the abiding result of this freak; a high neck and swelling outline is also the characteristic feature of the dome of Humayun's tomb (1569).[250]

The Nizam Shahi capital city of Ahmadnagar was built about 1500, and Ahmad Nizam Shah (d. 1508) beautified it by the 'Bhadrā' (='The Elegant': *Sans.*) palace in white stone. Ahmadnagar being practically the chief successor of the old Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri (=Daulatabad), the earlier

potamia, Persia and Central Asia, with Indian borderlands, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Mahmud Gawan's time their Timuride successors were ruling Persia.

249 Half-a-mile to the north of the fortress (north of a settlement is the traditional Indian site for funerary memorials), in and around which there are a large number of palaces, mosques, etc.

250 This feature is held to be derived from Timur's tomb at Samarkhand; but it should be remembered that Timur's architects and masons were mostly Indians impressed or invited into his service after his Jamuna Valley campaign (*cf.* the Indo-Moslem character of Ghazni buildings).

Hindu fortress-styles survived in all its fortress-towns, as at Daulatabad or Ahmadnagar.

Bijapur art, together with that of Guzrat and Rajputana, forms the three-planked bridge whereby earlier Indian art passes into that of Mughal India. The four leading Adil Shahi builders were: Yusuf (1490—1510), Ali I (1558—80), Ibrahim (1580—1626), and Muhammad (1626—56). Yusuf built the stone citadel of Bijapur, whose gigantic fortifying walls, 6¼ miles in circuit, are still mostly intact. Ali's great mosque, finely proportioned, was built to accommodate five thousand worshippers. Ali also constructed aqueducts for water supply to the whole Bijapur city, and to him is due the spacious audience hall named 'Gagana-mahāl' (='Sky-hall,' a Hindu name),[251] 1561. The tomb of Ibrahim II, exquisitely and richly decorated, was built in the time of Jahangir, whose buildings in the North are also characterised by the same wealth and delicacy of decoration. The mausoleum of Muhammad, constructed during the same period as the "Taj" of Shah Jahan, with the second largest dome in the world, is a marvel of skill and it will remain an open question who emulated whom. The grandeur and boldness of design and execution in the splendid architectural monuments of Bijapur was unequalled in contemporary India (*c.* 1490—*c.* 1660). This high level of art was attained very largely through a focussing of various external influences upon the indigenous traditions. Yusuf Adil Shah, the first of the great builders of Bijapur, was a Turkish prince brought up as a Georgian slave and educated in the Persian way, influenced by a Maratha queen and Maratha officials in the affairs of his newly-founded state, and a patron of local artists as well as foreign ones invited from Persia, Turkestan (Central Asia) and Rum (Constantinople). Ibrahim II, son of Chand Bibi of Maratha descent, patron of Brahman and Maratha officials, and known as 'Jagadguru' for his pro-Hindu tastes and attitude (like his contemporary Akbar), encouraged the construction of Christian Catholic

251 For a Hindu idea in Mughal audience hall, *cf.* the Lotus throne-pillar at Fatehpur Sikri, built a few years later.

churches in his kingdom (e.g., at Chītāpur, Mudgal, Raichur, etc.) with state endowment,—still lasting and under the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa.[252] Ibrahim's palaces were also decorated by Portuguese painters,—and the contemporary Mughal court in its patronage and appreciation of European art was clearly following the Bijapur lead and fashion. In the aforementioned mausoleum of Muhammad, as in the contemporary "Taj," there is trace of fine blending of both native and foreign art, and it would seem that the successful combination of Mediterranean and Indian artistic talents at Bijapur led to its adoption at Agra as well.

In his brief reign Babar found time to think of building, and invited architects from Constantinople (Byzantium) to help his new constructions. At that centre the Byzantine (Hellenistic) art was then for more than half a century being engaged in the service of Islam under the expanding empire of the Ottoman Turks; these Turks, and the Turk offshoots of the disintegrated Timuride Empire from the Euphrates to the Jaxartes, and the Safavis who revived Persia,[253] were long in touch with Greek states and civilization in Asia Minor and Balkan Peninsula; and it was thus that the pupils of the Albanian architect, Sinan, designer to the Ottoman Empire, found their way into the new kingdom won by the Timuride *protégé* of the first Safavi rulers. But like his ancestor Timur, who employed Indian architects to beautify his Samarkhand, Babar also employed in the main Indian stone-masons: 680 of them worked daily on his buildings at Agra, 1,500 daily at Sikri, Biana, Gwalior, etc.; these larger edifices have perished; only two minor ones have survived, a commemorative mosque at Panipat (1526) and another at Sambhal (Rohilkhand). Humayun's chequered reign has also left only two ruins, one of a massive mosque (1540) at Fathabad (Hissar) with enamelled tile decoration in Persian manner. As noted before, this 'Persian' or rather Mongol trait was much in

252 The parallelism of contemporary (and later) Mughal patronage of Portuguese and other Christian churches should be noted.

253 Ismail Safavi's grandmother was a Greek princess.

evidence in the Bahmani Kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and so Humayun cannot be taken as an innovator.[254] The foreshadowing of what was coming in the realm of architecture is not so much in evidence in these early Timuride buildings as in the mausoleum of the first nationalist Indo-Moslem sovereign, Sher Shah (at Sahsaram, 1540—45); there we may discern a harmonious combination of Hindu and Moslem architectural ideas, that gives at the same time the impression of a Buddhist stupa,[255] a Hindu temple and a Muslim tomb. Not only in government, but also in culture, the Akbaride régime was a travel along the sure way.

Akbar had a thorough understanding of architectural details, and his open, assimilative and synthetic mind gathered together artistic ideas from all sides, which were given form by the expert craftsmen he attracted to his court; as Abul Fazl says he " planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay "; Fergusson remarked that Fatehpur-Sikri was a reflex of the mind of a great man. Apart from masterpieces, the Akbaride style is also shown in a number of forts, villas, towers, sarais, schools, tanks and wells of his time. While Akbar still adhered to Persian ideas of art, inherited from his mother (coming of a Persian Shaikh family of Jam) and from his Persianised father and grandfather, his Rajput marriages attracted him equally towards Hindu art traditions, and this, combined with his deliberate policy of winning over the Hindu peoples and princes, led him to build very largely in Hindu styles. Thus the ' Jahangiri ' Mahal in Agra Fort or many of the edifices of Sikri (the capital from 1569 to '84) could well

254 It may well have been introduced there during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when Mongol soldiers of fortune conquered Deccan for the Khaljis and Tughlakhs and settled there; Mahmud Gawan is thus to be regarded as an emphasiser of this ' Mongolic ' art, coming as he did from a Mongolised Persia. It is even doubtful if there was not all along a survival of indigenous enamelled tile art coming down from ancient India.

255 Buddhist buildings were still standing here and there in the country.

have been built by any contemporary Rajput prince. Even in Humayun's tomb (1569) at Delhi, usually considered to be a Persianistic building, the ground plan is Indian, the free use of white marble is Indian, and the Persian coloured tile decoration is absent, while the swelling dome on high neck was already there in contemporary India (in the Peninsula). At Sikri, the most remarkable of the structures are the Buland Durwaza (1575-76), in commemoration of Guzrat conquest, the Diwan-i-Khas with its central Lotus throne-pillar of Hindu conception, and the Panch Mahal (five-storied pavilion),—a continuation of the plan of the Indian Buddhist 'vihāras' (which still existed in many parts in the latter part of Akbar's reign, as Buddhagupta's travels indicate). The mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah, planned in his lifetime and executed between 1605 and 1612, characterised by five square terraces diminishing in ascending order, is of the Panch Mahal type; the design included a light dome over the cenotaph, which was never built; since a vaulted roof to the top storey is a well-known feature of the Buddhist buildings of Cambodia and neighbouring regions in 'Greater India,' since craftsmen even from the Far East are said to have been drawn to the Mughal court, and since some amount of acquaintance with Indonesian architectural examples through overseas pilgrim traffic and trade still survived in the sixteenth century, it is not improbable that at Sikri and Sikandarah the Indian and Indonesian Buddhistic art survivals have left their stamp. Other buildings at Sikandarah and at Agra (e.g., the Akbari Mahal and the magnificent Agra fort walls) are due to Akbar, as also the forts of Attock and Allahabad,—the construction of the latter taking forty years and 5,000 to 20,000 workmen of different denominations (acc. to Finch).

Jahangir was not so prolific a builder as his father, but two structures of his time are of great interest: one, Akbar's tomb, has already been discussed; the other due to Nur Jahan is the tomb of her father, Itimad-ud-daulah (Agra, 1628),—built entirely of white marble decorated with semi-precious stone inlay on marble (often superior to the same style of decoration later in Shah Jahan's time). Earlier speci-

mens of this work (which superseded the ordinary tessellated mosaic or marble inlay in Akbar's days) are to be found in the Gol Mandal at Udaipur (from 1600); it is therefore probable that this 'pietra-dura' work is a Rajput style. Old Indian architectural works and references know of a decoration style called 'maṇi-śilā-karma' or 'maṇi-bhūmikā-karma,' i.e., precious stones inlay work; the sixteenth and seventeenth century Renaissance may have revived this ancient art. It is nevertheless possible that Italian Renaissance decoration of a similar nature gave, through foreign craftsmen at the different Indian capitals, an impetus to that revival. To this day this art flourishes only in Rajput regions and near about.

In Shah Jahan's time Mughal buildings lose in grandeur and originality, but gain in soft grace and rich, skilful decoration, so that architecture becomes jewellery on a bigger scale.

Shah Jahan's buildings—palaces, forts, gardens and mosques—were many (at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Kabul, Kashmir, Kandahar, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Mukhlispur, and other places); and from what is said about the cost of some of them (like the Taj, 1631—53) it is clear that the total public works expenditure in his reign ran into several dozen crores of rupees.[255a] Just as the grandeur and freedom of Akbar's personality is reflected in his buildings specially at Fatehpur-Sikri, so also is the lavishness and love of display of Shah Jahan reflected in his costly architectural jewellery,—more particularly in his Delhi buildings, amongst which was the silver-ceilinged, marble, gold and precious stone decorated Diwan-i-khas, a '*firdaus bar ru-yi zamin.*'[256] From the standpoint of true art, the Moti Masjid of Agra represents the architectural zenith of Shah Jahan's time; here again its arches

255a There is uncertainty about approximate figures; see an estimate of 1646 given in J. N. Sarkar's 'Studies in Mughal India.'

256 One is reminded of the Kanchi temple (in Vijaynagar Empire) sacked by the Bahmanis in 1481, where the walls, roofs and ceiling were covered by gold plate and precious stone decorations. It is quite likely that this metal-plating and precious stone inlay of the Southern empire passed into the North with the fall of Vijaynagar and gave rise to the pietra dura work of Rajputana and Mughal cities and to the silver and gold decorations in Mughal palaces.

and pillars are repetitions of Hindu symbolisms and forms, fittingly adapted for Muslim religious purposes. 'Who built the Taj' is still an open question, on which historians range themselves either on the side of Smith or on that of Moin-uddin Ahmad,[257] more or less completely; a few additional points however may be noted in this connection:—*firstly,* there is hardly any novelty in the plan and chief features of the Taj; from Sher's mausoleum, and through Humayun's tomb and the Bijapur memorials, the descent of the style can easily be discerned; so also, we should not forget that 'lace-work' in marble and other stones and precious stone inlay work on marble (pietra dura), are derived from earlier Western Indian and Rajput art (*e.g.,* from Ahmadabad and Udaipur, respectively); *secondly,* the lavish employment of white marble and various decorations of Indian character show that Persian influence is not quite as dominating in Shah Jahan's buildings as is usually thought; *thirdly,* there is nothing historically inconsistent in the existence of certain Mediterranean (the term 'European' is not correctly descriptive) elements in the sixteenth and seventeenth century art of India; such elements existed at Bijapur and Gujrat, in architecture and painting, owing to intercourse with the Western world; as noted already, Babar invited Balkan[257a] artists to India; it is also well known that Mughal court painting was influenced by European paintings in certain points; again, Christian buildings and builders were not unknown in contemporary India, Mughal or non-Mughal, north or south.

If not positively opposed to architecture, Aurangzeb did not encourage new construction of artistic merit, and craftsmen hitherto attracted from all quarters to the Mughal cities must have rapidly become unemployed and their art traditions gradually lost to a great extent,—surviving partly in the decadent 'later Mughal' states of Oudh and Hyderabad in the

257 Smith: 'History of Fine Arts,' pp. 416—18; M. Ahmad: 'Taj and Its Environments,' pp. 16—30 (Second Edition); also J. N. Sarkar: 'Studies in Mughal India.'

257a Usually called 'Slavonic and Byzantine.'

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The few structures of Aurangzeb's reign are mostly mediocre, or copies from older models like the Lahore mosque of 1674 (a feeble duplicate of the great mosque of Delhi).

The origin, nature and development of what is called 'Mughal painting' are similar to those of 'Mughal architecture.' Chinese art, historically a blend under Indian Buddhist influence of Indian, Iranian, Hellenic (Bactrian) and Mongolian art traditions, was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors, and continued by their Timuride sucessors. Thus between 1200 and 1500 A.D. a provincialised form of Chinese art (of Buddhist origin) grew up in Persia, which the Mughals imported into India, being closely connected with the Persian court from *c.* 1500 to 1555 (in Babar and Humayun's time) as also later on. This Indo-Sino-Persian importation was then joined in the time of Akbar to the contemporary Indian schools of painting, derived from a renaissance of earlier styles, and flourishing in different parts of the country like Guzrat, Rajputana, etc.

A Gujrati school of manuscript illustration, closely related to the somewhat earlier Nepal, Bengal and Burma schools of manuscript painting, flourished from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, whereafter it passed into the Rajput and Mughal styles. Paper was used for these paintings from early fifteenth century, the known date of one such being 1427 (that of a palm leaf painting being 1237). The subjects of such paintings were mainly Jaina (religious), but sometimes also secular, as in an illustrated manuscript of Vasanta-vilāsa dated 1451. Brilliant colouring, as well as facile, free, expressive, and masterly outline drawing, characterised these paintings. Mural painting occurs quite early in Rajputana, earlier than the fifteenth century, as in the old palace at Bikaner. With increasing use of paper (fifteenth century) painting methods on walls or panels, etc., were transferred to paper, so that the Hindu paper painting technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the direct descendant of the classical Ajanta technique. The subjects of these renaissance paintings in Rajputana and connected regions were mainly Vaiṣṇava

(including topics from the Epics), occasionally Śaiva ; on the secular side the subjects were musical or poetic-rhetoric concepts or portraiture. The earlier works of this movement, of Rajputana proper, Bundelkhand and Jammu, show the greater vigour of outline and the brighter colouring ; the examples get softened with the Mughal times. In Bengal and Orissa also there existed schools of painting related to the Rajput School (and to its later offshoots the Jammu, the Kangra and the Garhwal schools). In Vijaynagar, side by side with architecture and sculpture, a distinct school of painting flourished throughout its period of greatness (mid-fourteenth to close of sixteenth century), whose merits are inferable now only from foreign testimony, examples having been destroyed ; here too the subjects were largely Epic or Vaiṣṇava. In Bijapur and Ahmadnagar the art of illustrating and illuminating manuscript reached a very high level, and their big libraries contained many examples of these. The Bijapur court also patronised Portuguese and other Western painters who worked for the palace decorations ; the same patronage of European art in different branches seems to have been a feature of the Gujrat and Vijaynagar courts also in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The indigenous artists of India, mostly hereditary painters with generations of training on traditional lines, differed in motives and sentiment from West-Asiatic or Persian painters who found their way into India at this time ; the latter took their subjects and inspiration from the materialistic life of the Court, while the Hindu Renaissance painters took them from Indian classics, Vaiṣṇava literature and intimate life of the nation. Yet, the inheritance of technique being more or less the same, the Timuride importation of Sino-Persian style in the Jamuna valley at once attracted large numbers of Hindu painters who soon produced an Indianised form of that art. Thus the process of modification of Mongol or Chinese characteristics and growing predominance of contemporary Indian features is seen clearly in the paintings of a copy of Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria and of Badshah-nama preserved in the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna.

It is possible that Babar employed court painters like his ancestors ; the paintings in the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of Babar's Memoirs may represent the kind of work they produced. During his exile in Persia, Humayun studied Persian music, poetry and painting, and came into contact with the leading Sino-Persian artists in Shah Tahmasp's employ. After restoration to Kabul, Humayun in 1550 invited to Kabul two of the pupils of the famous Bihzad of Herat (who was the court painter of Ismail Safavi), Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdus Samad, Shirin-Kalam ; Humayun and Akbar had lessons from them, and they were charged with the work of illustrating the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah ; they and their Indian assistants may be said to be the nucleus of the Mughal Court painting later on made great by Akbar. In Sayyid Ali and Samad's paintings for the Amir Hamzah, done between 1550 and 1560, the Sino-Persian manner is dominant ; but in 1562, after Akbar's Rajput alliances, the painting showing the arrival of the Vaiṣṇava musician Tansen at the Mughal Court betrays a fusion with the Indian style ; from 1569 to 1585 the predominantly native architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri was embellished with considerably Indianised paintings produced by a small number of Persian painters and a large number of Hindu artists, each set ready to use any good point in the craft of the other under the guidance of Abdus Samad. The foreign artists (Persian or others) at Akbar's court were very few, the best known of them being the aforesaid Persians, Samad, Khusrau Quli and Jamshed, and the Kalmuck Farrukh Beg ; the Hindu and native artists were in a large (the proportion being about 4 to 13) majority, and they were at their best in the best features of the Mughal art, —portraiture, book-illustration, and animal studies,[258] and Abul Fazl considered that 'few in the whole world are found equal to them'; they belonged to Kayastha, Chitera, Silavat,

258 Akbar had a big album of portraits, now sequestered; probably Umar Sheikh's portrait of Babar (in Br. Mus.) was in it once. The best of book-illustrations of this period are in Razmnama (Jaipur) and Akbarnama (Br. Mus.). Animal studies in Babarnama (Vict. and Alb. Mus.), and Mansur and Jagannath's birds.

Khati, and Kahar castes, and their method was organised collaboration in the same piece of work ; the best known among them were Daswant, Basawan, Lal, Kesu, Mukund, and Haribans ;[259] they were drawn from all over the country from Kashmir to Guzrat : in thus bringing together men of diverse denominations the Mughal School of painting was carrying out the contemporary Indian Reformation idea in the domain of art. Akbar indeed tried to give a religious outlook to his patronage of painting,—which was apparently opposed to Islamic doctrine : he held that 'the painter has quite peculiar means of realising divinity,' and Abul Fazl was of opinion that the Emperor's arguments made 'the bigoted followers of the letter of the law see the truth.' By thus raising painting in Muslim estimate, by organising weekly court exhibitions and suitable rewards, providing studios (e.g., at Fatehpur-Sikri), and enrolling over a hundred artists in the ranks of *mansabdars, ahadis* and infantrymen (for subsidiary craftsmen), and also by improving the production and marketing of the art materials, Akbar gave Indian painting a very strong impetus.

Luckily Jahangir continued to support it enthusiastically ; he was a 'rich collector' paying handsomely for quality, a connoisseur, an art critic, able to name collaborators in a composite piece from individual touches. The last foreign artists came in his time : Aga Reza and son Abul Hasan from Herat, and Nadir and Murad from Samarkhand ; in the Indian group the best known were Bishandas, Manohar and Govardhan. Jahangir himself was a keen student of miniature painting, and the royal taste produced a crop of classical miniatures in this period ; he constantly added to the state galleries the best samples of all the schools of painting in India or abroad, and this led to the emancipation of Mughal art from Persian influences,—so that during the half-Rajput Jahangir's reign an essentially Indian art grew up, leaning more and more to Hindu tradition, yet freely assimilating good points

259 Mansur and Jagannath belong to close of Akbar's reign and later.

of many systems, under the guidance of his æsthetic genius. With him however the real spirit of the Mughal Art died.

Shah Jahan had no special liking for painting, and in this matter probably he was guided to some extent by his own and his wife's orthodox Muslim views ; his love of pomp, however, is reflected, as in his richly-decorated architecture, in court portraiture and durbar pictures in gaudy colours and much gold,[260]—a display concealing decline in true art. Imperial patronage was almost withdrawn from 'Mughal painting'; the number and emoluments of ccurt artists were reduced, so that most of them were constrained to seek employment under lesser princes and nobles ; it was however only in Rajputana and in the Himalayan states that such extra-imperial patronage was considerable and helpful,—and so it was in those regions that painting continued to flourish throughout the seventeenth and even the eighteenth centuries. Within the Empire Dara Shikoh (whose album of paintings is in India Office) sought to revive the imperial patronage, but his unfortunate career spoilt the prospects not only of the empire but also of its art. Painters were now forced to set up studios in the bazars and to make picture-selling to the general public a means of livelihood ; Bernier in this time noted the lack of opportunities for attaining distinction and the poor remuneration under which Indian artists then had to suffer. The final blow to Mughal painting was dealt by Aurangzeb, who was hostile to the art, as also much more to music, as opposed to Islam ; he is said to have defaced the paintings in Asar Mahal at Bijapur and whitewashed those in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandarah. Yet his own portraits in various situations (with[260a] or without his sanction) are numerous, and he is known to have inspected periodical portraits of his rebellious son Md. Sultan to know how he fared in prison. After Aurangzeb, with the rise of the 'later Mughal' states of Oudh and Hyderabad, and the formation of the Bengal Nawabship and the Mysore Sultanate, the surviving painters of the Mughal School migrated to

260 E.g., One in Bodleian Library at Oxford.

260a No case of his *express* sanction is however recorded in history.

Lucknow, Patna, Murshidabad, Hyderabad and Mysore, and carried on the old traditions at those places, but both patronage and execution was far below the earlier levels.

As noted above, painting continued to flourish in Rajputana, where even in the eighteenth century the Jaipur style retained the original Rajput brilliancy and decorative treatment. The cognate Kangra School produced, under the partonage of Raja Samsar Chand, most exquisite and refined though not very vigorous paintings in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Tehri-Garhwal School was its offshoot, and this later on developed into the early nineteenth century Sikh portrait painting. In the Far South in Ceylon, a good revival of Indian painting took place in the eighteenth century under the Kandy kings who restored Ceylonese shrines.

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PART III

Same as in Chapter IV of Part I and Nos. 3—12 in Chapter IV (B) of Part II.

APPENDIX A

DYNASTIC TABLES

LODIS OF DELHI

Bahlol (1451—89)

- Barbak Shah (at Jaunpur)
- Nizam Khan, *Sikandar* (1489—1517)
 - *Ibrahim* (1517—26).

SURS OF SAHSARAM

Ibrahim Khan

- Hasan Khan
 - Farid Khan, *Sher Shah* (d. 1545)
 - *Islam* (*Salim*) *Shah* (d. 1554) = dtr.
 - Firuz Shah (d. 1554).
 - Nizam Khan
 - Mubariz Khan, *Md. Adil Shah* (Adili, Andhli) (d. 1556).
 - Sulaiman and other sons
- Ghazi Khan
 - Ibrahim Khan, dtr. = *Ibrahim Shah.* (d. 1568)
 - dtr. = *Ibrahim*
- (Another son)
 - Ahmad Khan, *Sikandar Shah,* (d. 1559).

ADIL SHAHIS OF BIJAPUR

1. *Yusuf* (1490—1510)
2. *Ismail* (1510—1534)
 - 3. *Mallu* (1534-35)
 - 4. *Ibrahim* I (1535-57)
 - 5. *Ali* = Chand Bibi (1557-80)
 - 6. *Ibrahim II* (1580-1626)
 - 7. *Muhammad* (1626—1656)
 - 8. *Ali II* (1656—73)
 - 9. *Sikandar* (1673—86).

QUTB SHAHIS OF GOLKUNDA

1. *Kuli* Qutb Shah (1518—1543)

- *Jamshid* (parricide) (1543—50)
- *Ibrahim* (1550—80)
 - *Muhammad Kuli* (1580—1611)
 - *Abdullah* (submitted to Aurangzeb, 1656)
 - *Abul Hasan* (deported, 1687)

NIZAM SHAHIS OF AHMADNAGAR

Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri

Malik *Ahmad*, Nizam Shah (1490—1508)

Burhan (1508—53)

Husain (1553—1584)

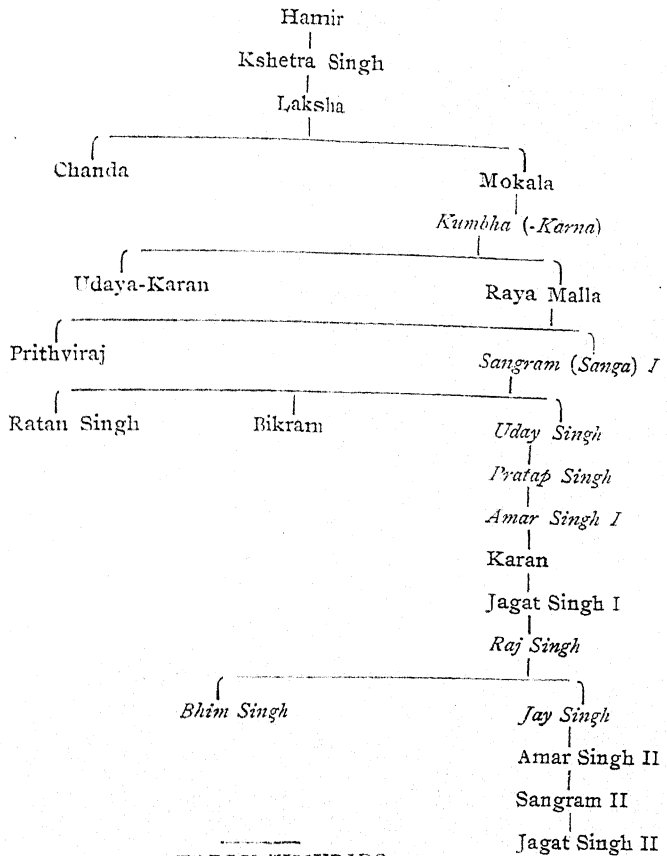
- (puppet kings)
 - [*Shahji's* puppet, 1632—36]
- *Chand Bibi* (in power, 1584—1603)
 - [*Malik Ambar* in power, 1603—1626]
 - [*Fath Khan* in power, 1626—32]
- =Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur

TULUVA DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR AND ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF PENUKONDA-CHANDRAGIRI

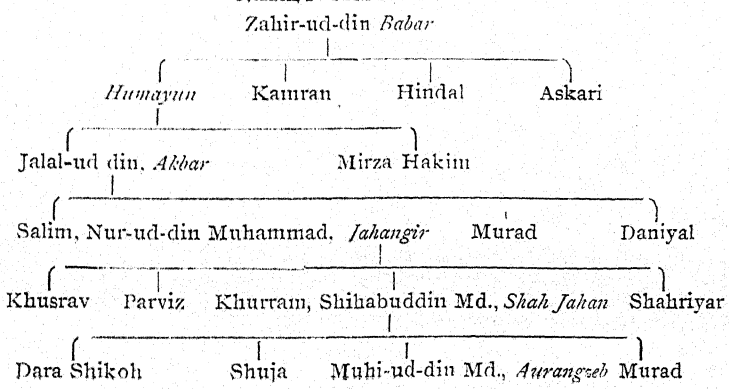
- Pinnama, 'lord, of Aravidu'
 - Bukka, minister to Sāluva Narasimha
 - Rama Raja
 - Sriranga
 - (3) Venkatadri
 - Ranga V
 - Gopala
 - *Ranga VI** (adopted).
 - (2) *Tirumala* of Penukonda
 - (1) *Rama Raya* (Aliya Rama, the great Regent killed at Talikota).
 - =dtr.
 - Ranga VI
 - *Pedda Venkata*
 - *Chinna Venkata*
 - *Ranga VI.**
 - Vira Nrisimha
 - *Krishna Raya*
 - Ranga
 - *Sadasiva*
 - *Achyuta*
 - *Venkata I*
- Timma
 - Isvara
 - *Narasa Nayaka, Tuluva*
 - Raghu
 - Ranga II
 - Rama
 - Tirumala
 - *Ranga III*
 - *Rama.*
 - *Venkata II*, of Chandragiri

APPENDIX

SISODIAS OF MEWAR

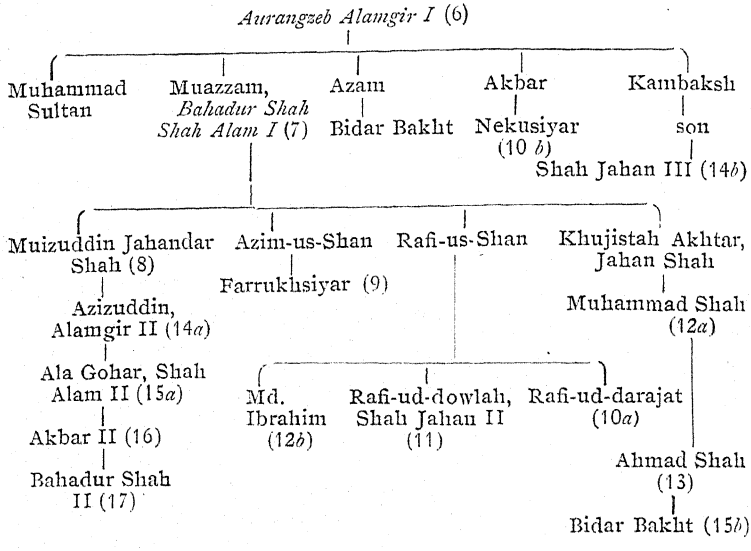


EARLY TIMURIDS

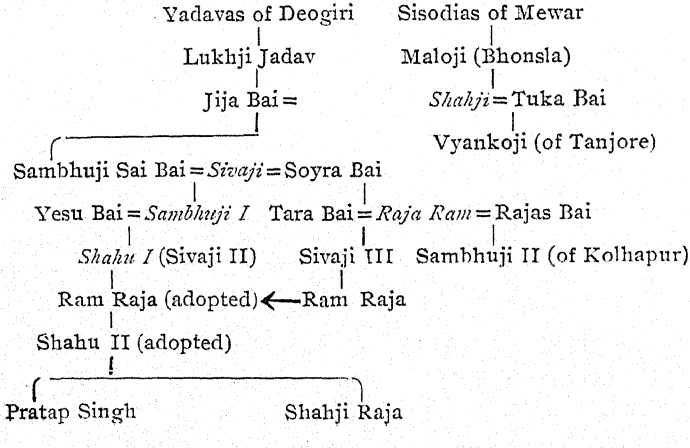


APPENDIX

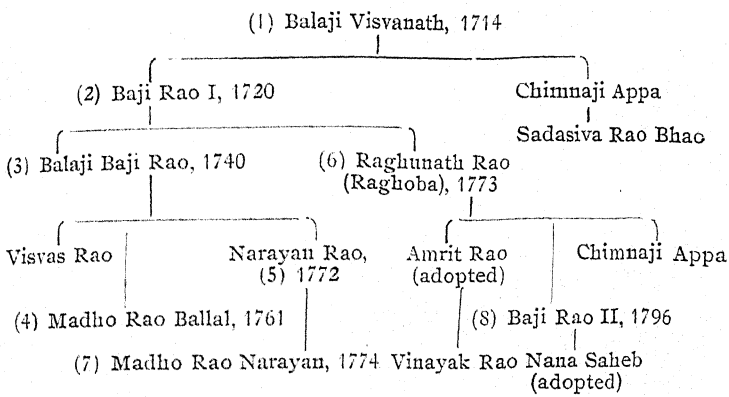
LATTER TIMURIDS



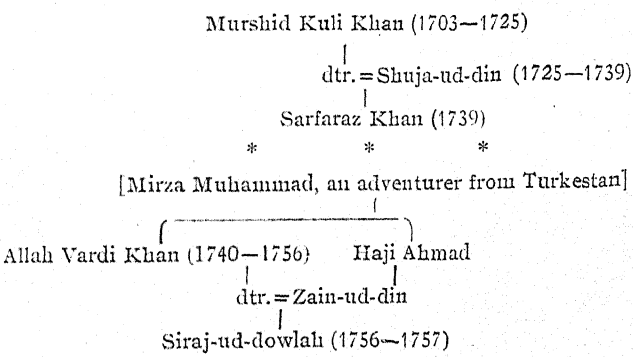
SHIVAJI'S FAMILY



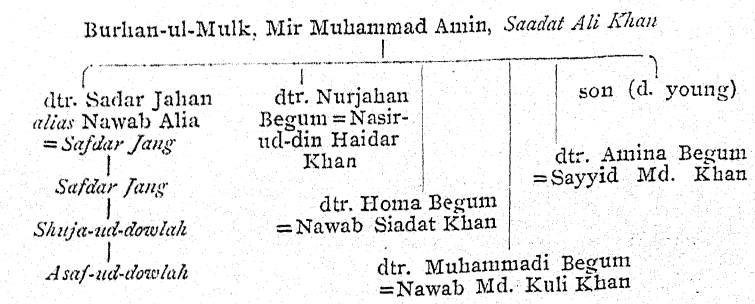
'PESHWA' DYNASTY



INDEPENDENT NAWABS OF BENGAL



THE OUDH FAMILY



THE NIZAM FAMILY

Khwajah Abid Kalij Khan (Governor of Ajmir)

Mir Shahab-ud-din (Ghazi-ud-din) Khan (Governor of Guzrat)

Mir Qamar-ud-din, 1st Nizam (1713—48)

- Mir Ghazi-ud-din (died in October, 1752)
 - Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-mulk.
- Mir Asaf-ud-dowlah *Salabat Jang*, 4th Nizam (1751—61)
- dtr.
 - *Muzaffar Jang*, 3rd Nizam (1750-51)
- Mir Muhammad *Nasir Jang*, 2nd Nizam (1748—50)
- Mir Shuja-ul-Mulk Basalat Jang
- Mir *Nizam Ali Khan*, 5th Nizam (1761—1803)
 - Mir Ahmad Khan, Ali Jah.
 - Mir Akbar Ali Khan, *Sikandar Jah*, 6th Nizam (1803—28)
 - (Six other sons)

ARCOT NAWAB FAMILIES

(*a*) Muhammad Said, *Saadat-ullah Khan* (1710—1732)

(nephew) *Dost Ali Khan* (1732—40)

- *Safdar Ali Khan* (assassinated) (1740—42)
 - *Muhammad Said Khan* (1742—43)
- dtr. = *Chand Saheb*

(*b*) *Anwar-ud-din* (1743—49)

- Mahfuz Khan
- Wala Jah, *Muhammad Ali* (1749—95)
 - *Umdat-ul-Umra* (1795—1801)

THE MYSORE NAWAB FAMILIES

Muhammad Bahlol

- Wali Muhammad
- Ali (or Ghulam Ali Dost Muhammad)

Fatah Muhaammad (Fatah Ali or Shuja Sahib) (d. 1729)

- (1)
- (2)
- (3) (1) Fakhr-un-nisa = *Hyder Ali Khan* (1761—82)
 - dtr. of Moin-ud-din
 - (1) *Tippu Sultan* (Fateh Ali Khan) (1782—99)
 - (Twelve sons, some of whom lived till the middle or even latter half of Nineteenth century.)
 - (2)

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